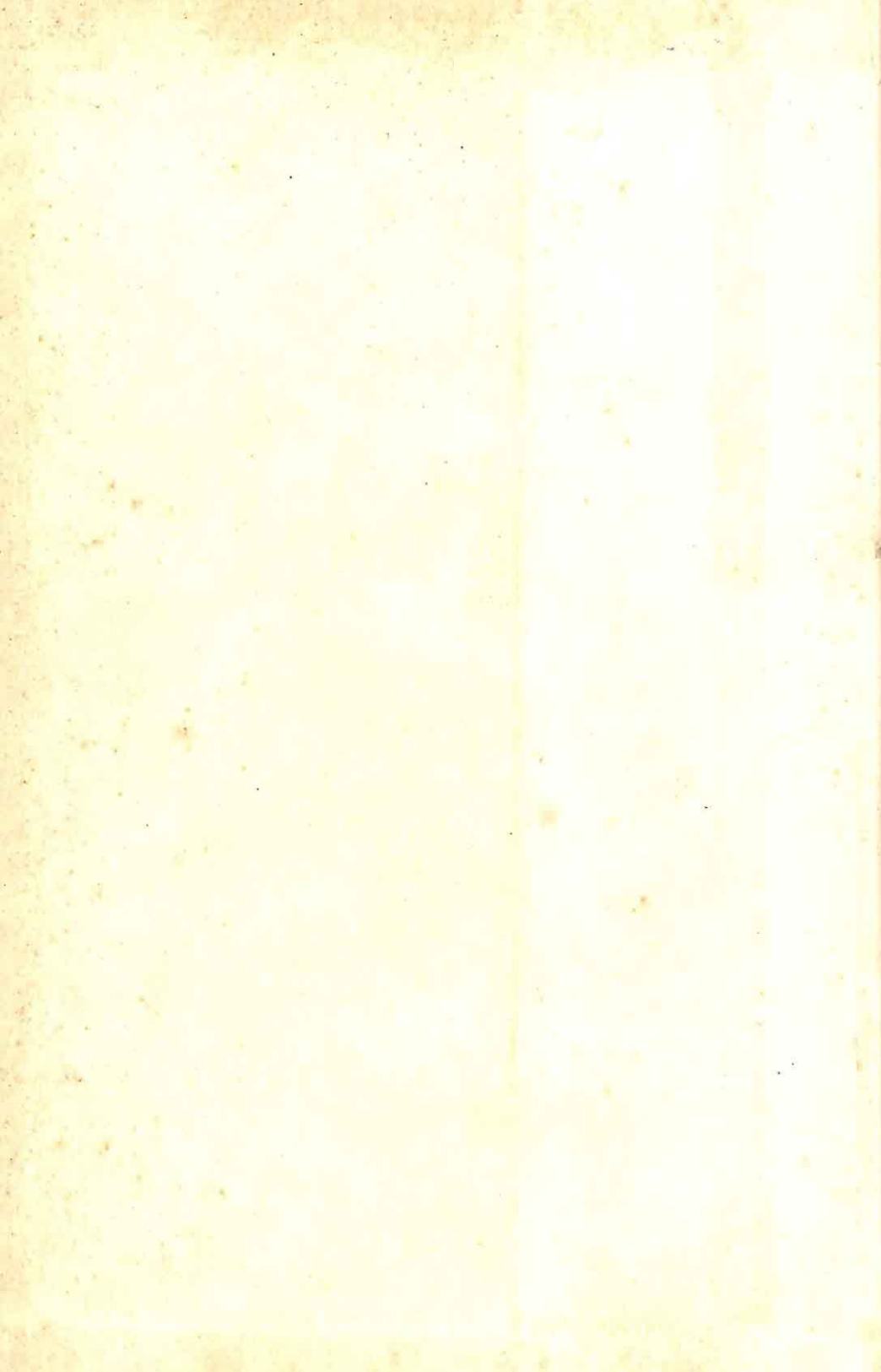




Comparative Method in Education

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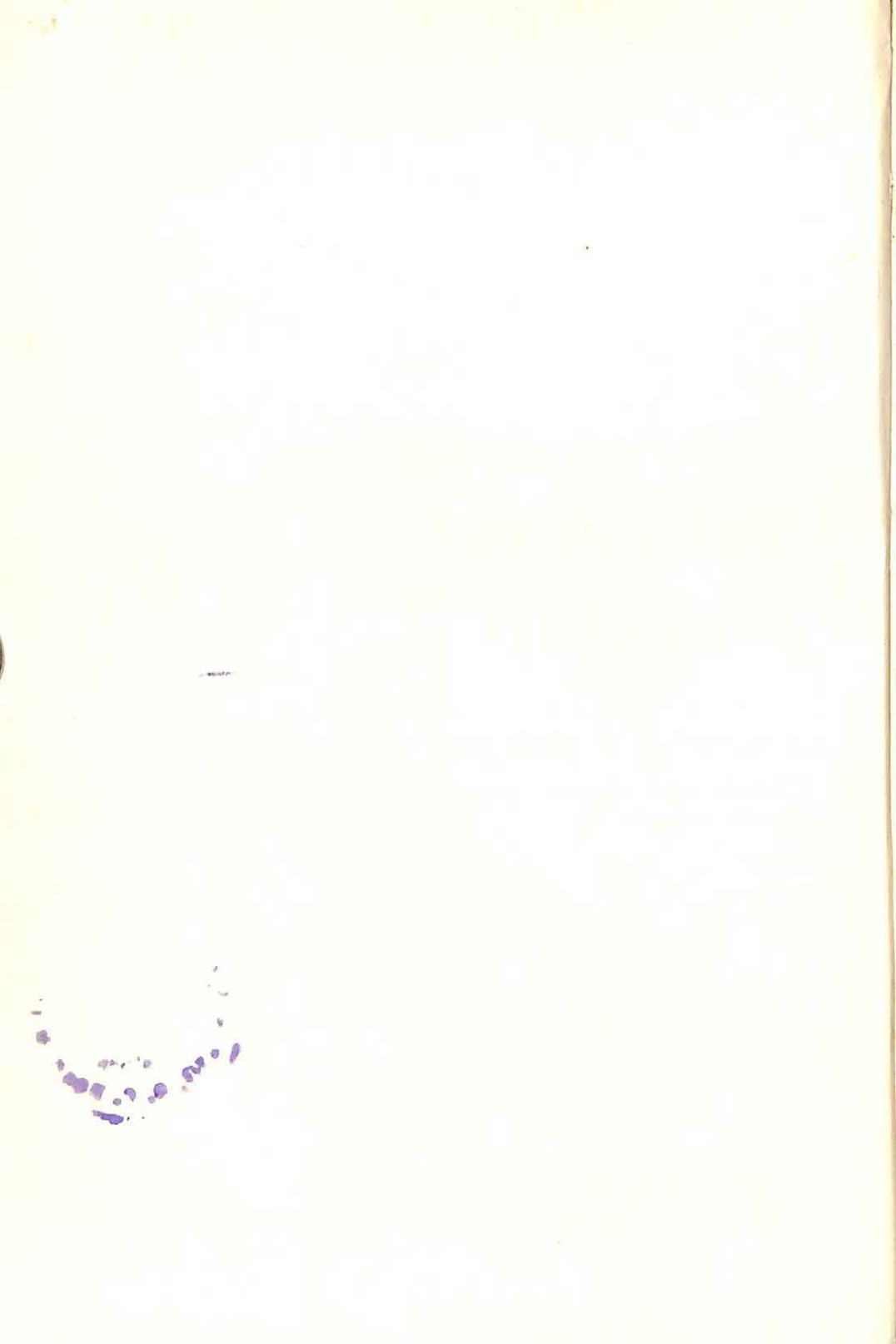
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**COMPARATIVE
METHOD IN
EDUCATION**





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COMPARATIVE METHOD IN EDUCATION

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Preface

In the late 1950s a clarion call was sounded in American education. The eyes of the public as well as of thoughtful educators were turned to Europe. The tiny western fringe of the Asian land mass, from which most American people, all American traditions, and most of American inspiration had come, once more challenged its offspring across the ocean in the race of the mind. All American high school dropouts seemed sloppy, tee-shirted, life-adjusted mediocrities. By contrast, all British sixth-formers, for example, appeared solid, steady, academic performers. With the energy and soul searching for which Americans are famous, but also with much alarmed groaning, the country prepared to "rev up" its educational engines.

The two sides of the comparison were close enough to truth to hurt. It was true that the American high school, theoretically in harness to pull the multitude toward excellence, had been leaving behind a trail of stragglers. It was true that education, the great traditional generator of American dynamism, had begun underproducing. Countless writers reported that the minds of American youth, in colleges and schools everywhere, could be stretched 30 percent beyond what they now are. These pupils have the comprehension and the stamina and would like themselves more for making greater effort.

The British schools did not experience such problems. Their postwar reforms have once more succeeded in pouring new vigor into the old vintage excellence. The grammar school, more and more geared to intellectual ability, has kept up its rigorously scholarly output. The facts were plain. The British were good and should be congratulated. The Americans were not so good and should be upgraded. Each of the two facts was true separately.

But when linked together in comparison, these facts meant nothing. To say simply that the British are better educated than Americans ignores rudimentary facts of comparison. Every year the British graduate from

grammar schools some 20,000 youngsters. Every year Americans graduate over one million. To compare educational attainment of such disparate groups is nonsense. One would have to pick the best 20,000 American graduates (certainly no more than 80,000, if we want to take account of the population ratios) and compare their attainment with that of all British graduates. Few times the number of the American National Merit Scholarship winners is all that would be needed to effect a comparison with the British graduating class. And the rest of the American graduates should be tallied with technical or vocational school graduates or with apprentices who leave school at 15; such comparisons might not go so much against Americans.

Here is a lesson from comparative education and it holds for other examples. In their search for models for their new schools Americans looked not only toward Western Europe but further afield toward the Soviet Union. From concern for pupils they passed, quite properly, to concern for teachers. Editorials, speeches, even advertisements, pointed out that American teachers are little thought of and poorly paid. On the other hand, it was also noted that Soviet teachers, the steel arm of the state in its campaign to mold the minds of the young, were highly revered and well paid. Especially college teachers were advertised as drawing salaries sixteen times those of workers, while in the United States such salaries were only four times as high. It was emphasized that the Soviet teacher is respected, the American, at best patronizingly tolerated.

Once more the facts were close to truth. The salaries of teachers in the United States, adequate for single persons, tight for married men with dependents, are on the level of lower white collar and skilled industrial workers. The salaries of Soviet teachers are on the level of professionals. In the United States teachers see little difference between themselves and workers, while lawyers and doctors loom unattainably above. In the Soviet Union teachers draw about what lawyers and doctors do, while workers are placed below.

But again these facts cannot be placed simply side by side for comparison. Though the figure of sixteen times is now (after Soviet reforms of teacher salary scales) too high, even for college professors, Soviet teachers are more highly paid in comparison with industrial workers than is the case in the United States. But American industrial workers are paid perhaps twice as much as the Soviet workers. It is the workers' salaries, not the teachers', that are at quite different levels. Thus to base comparisons on wages of workers is to put everything out of focus. The actual salary levels of teachers in the two countries, insofar as this can be determined

with any degree of accuracy, seem to be much the same or in favor of Americans. In comparative education one must always bear in mind this basic lesson. Educational facts are deeply enmeshed in a matrix of other social circumstances. They cannot be compared without a careful accounting for the total situation.

This book is an introduction to a systematic study of comparative education, the analytical survey of foreign educational systems. Comparative education is a young subfield in the very old discipline of pedagogy. Its origins fall somewhere between Rousseau and Herbart. It is commonly dated from Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris, who in 1817 formulated the first list of checkpoints, a systematic schedule to study schools for the purpose of comparison. Since then comparative education has given home to some brilliant qualitative writing and also to much lifeless recounting of pedagogical facts without an attempt at analysis and comparison. Its present renaissance is due to the international situation, which in turn brought an overdue revival of interest in pedagogy on the part of social scientists. As pedagogy climbs out of its half century of decline and becomes in a modern sense a fully fledged academic discipline, so must comparative education. The present book is an attempt to contribute toward this goal.

This book has been written for the layman and the beginning student of the field. To specialists it may be of some value as one attempt to systematize, to supply unity to the discipline of many and varied activities and of recent and potential expansion. But its major task is to render clear to the nonspecialist what the field is or hopefully will be in the near future. It is too late to be content with the definition of comparative education as being "what people who call themselves comparative educators do." A young field of study inevitably runs into suspicion from older disciplines, some motivated by real concern for scholarly quality and for endless proliferation of subfields of academic study, others swayed by proprietary interest and fear that a vigorous newcomer can move in on their preserve. This book is intended to clarify and to allay fears. Comparative education has a clear subject matter of its own—the schools of the world in their many manifestations. It has a specific methodological concern that it shares with comparative law, comparative government, cross-cultural studies in anthropology, and other comparative disciplines, a concern for the development of valid methods of comparison.

Comparative education has or should have a firm mooring within the precincts of one of the older social sciences. Its strongest affinity is to political science, or perhaps to geography. Apart from such major methodo-

logical commitment, comparative education relies on the methods of a host of other fields, from philosophy to psychology, from literature to statistics. Its specific task is to bring several of the concerns of the humanities and the social sciences together in application to a geographical perspective of education. That is why comparative education cannot simply be a part of history of education or of sociology of education or of international education. Insofar as methods of comparative education are those of liberal arts, it might well be viewed as current history of education. Insofar as comparative education is a social science, it might well be a part of anthropology or sociology or economics of education. But comparative education is not any of these disciplines alone. Rather, it is partly all of them together.

One cannot describe any comparative educational problem in terms of a single discipline. One can, for instance, do a meticulous study of the expansion of educational opportunity in historical terms from the Scottish parish schools to modern American or Russian schools. Such a study would tell us little about questions of social class and education, relation of the schools to man-power problems, definitions and role of intellectual ability and its measurement, or philosophical goals of schooling. Such questions, vital to the full understanding of the problem of educational opportunity, must be treated consecutively by relevant resources of sociology, economics, psychology, and philosophy. In this sense, comparative educators must attempt to utilize the methods of several disciplines. And if they run the risk of being labeled Jacks of all trades and masters of none, they can defend themselves by saying that theirs is a study with a definite limitation of focus—the relevance to education.

Many educators, harassed by those who point to low standards in the field, attempt to escape by copying the content as well as the methods of other disciplines. They seek to make psychology of schools more respectable by turning it into psychology of adjustment, unmarred by mention of schools. History of education becomes history of culture; sociology of schools develops as sociology of the community. And further down the scale home economics becomes sociology of education; curriculum turns into philosophy of education. Comparative educators should resolutely defend themselves against such emasculation of their field. In comparative education the proper subject of study is schools, however broadly conceived. Other fields and other institutions are best studied on their own account and come within the purview of comparative education only insofar as they are relevant to education and schools. In short, comparative education is a political geography of schools. Its task, with the aid of methods

of other fields, is to search for lessons that can be deduced from the variations in educational practice in different societies.

This book is arranged in four parts. Part 1 deals with general theory and methods and postulates subdivisions of the field and appropriate methodological steps for training students in comparative education. Chapter One discusses and illustrates the two major branches of study: 1) the survey of education in *one* country, the so-called area studies, and 2) the merging of the materials from more than one country, the so-called simultaneous comparison. Chapter Two suggests the mechanics of analysis. It presents the steps leading to a full-scale comparative treatment: 1) description, collection of pedagogical facts, 2) interpretation, the analysis of the facts by the methods of different social sciences, 3) juxtaposition, the preliminary comparison of facts, 4) comparison, the final fusion of the facts with similarly assembled data from other countries for the purpose of comparison.

Part 2 illustrates the methods now used in the field. Each chapter presents a specific problem as an example of comparative analysis. The discussion is concerned first with indoctrination, then with science education, then with quality of teacher training, and finally with control of the curriculum. An attempt has been made to arrange these chapters in a progressively graded level of difficulty. Thus each succeeding chapter deals with a greater number of countries and illustrates a more complicated analysis. Throughout, the analysis is primarily qualitative and expository. But the problem of exhortatory, normative writing is also examined; it can never be completely excluded in an analysis bent on eliciting lessons from comparative evidence.

Part 3 deals with problems of preparation for comparative study. The three chapters in this part alert the student to evaluate comparative writings according to the competence of the writers. The knowledge of the language of the culture under study, prolonged travel in the area, and a check upon the cultural biases that pervade both the evidence available and the way researchers analyze it, are the three conditions that must be met in order to execute properly comparative studies.

The remaining three chapters form Part 4 and present an overview of various teaching and research centers in comparative education and the major types of bibliographical sources available.

Several of the chapters included in this book appeared previously as parts of articles and publications in this country and abroad. My thanks are due to the editors of the publications in which they were printed and to which a fuller reference is made on the acknowledgments page and in

the notes to relevant chapters. I owe a debt of gratitude to my many colleagues in comparative education all over the world, including my own students. Upon their wisdom, experience, and help I have drawn freely for almost a decade. They have not only taught me all I know about comparative education but they have also wisely restrained me from the excesses of enthusiasm that an immigrant feels toward the institutions of the country he has chosen as his home, a feeling which precludes sound comparison.

Professors Frederic Lilge of the University of California at Berkeley and R. Freeman Butts of Columbia University read the entire manuscript and proved stern and thus most helpful critics. Professor Lawrence Cremin of Columbia University also read the manuscript and in addition suffered through the various stages of writing as only a friend can. Professor William K. Medlin of the University of Michigan, in a happy moment, suggested the book's title.

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G. Z. F. B.

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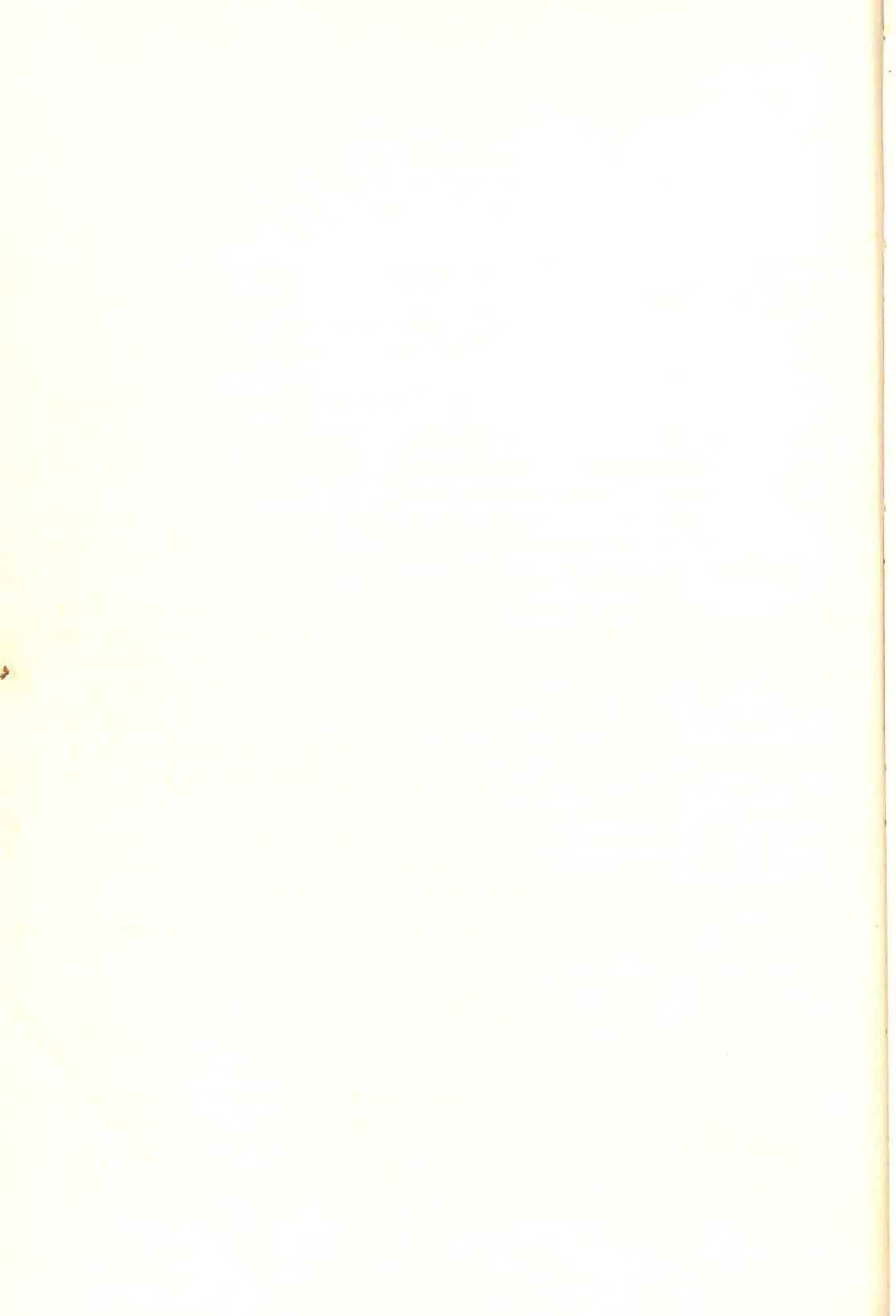
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**COMPARATIVE
METHOD IN
EDUCATION**



Part 1

Methods

Chapter One

Theory and Method

A General Discussion¹

. . . Verily it is naturally given to all men to esteem their own inventions best. So both the raven and the ape consider their young ones fairest. . . . But if (anyone in company) should bring forth anything that he has read was done in times past, or that he has seen done in other places, then the hearers act as though their whole reputation for wisdom were in jeopardy of being overthrown and that ever after they would be counted for very fools, unless they could in other man's ideas pick out matter to reprehend or find fault at.²

One might well choose this angry protest of Sir Thomas More rather than some suitable sentiment from Tacitus or even Plato as a milestone from which to count the era of comparative studies in society and education. The reporting on foreign experiences by travelers, visiting statesmen, and itinerant mendicants is as old as the human race. There have always been the Ibn Kaldouns, the Marco Polos, the Alexis de Tocquevilles, eager to take to their countries the tales of wonders elsewhere encountered. But the interest in foreign societies and their education became particularly important in the era of nationalism, ushered in by the Reformation, of which More himself ultimately became a victim. It grew at the time when men began to think of themselves as Englishmen, Dutchmen, or Spaniards rather than Europeans bound by the Latin language and the Christian creed. Nationalism has helped to articulate regional differences in thinking and hence in the ways of schooling the young. The

resulting panorama of educational practices became almost automatically a matter for curiosity and concern. There came into being the need to explore systematically the quality of foreign schools as a means of evaluating one's own educational system. So long as this need continues there will be no lack of demand for the services of comparative education.

THE PURPOSE OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Since the days of Plato and Aristotle—or perhaps even from the earliest times when the first shaman was telling his people about the great mysteries and power of magic—man has cultivated the social sciences. Through history he studies his past; through geography, his hold upon the globe; through political science, his capacity to structure and manage power. As he surveys his institutions by each and every discipline, he comes upon education. In each field he must set aside time and resources for the examination of the means by which he perpetuates himself: the formation of his young. Thus history houses a branch devoted to the study of the schools—history of education; sociology—sociology of education; philosophy—philosophy of education. Which major branch of learning is the home of comparative education?

Comparative education at present faces an as yet unresolved problem of affiliation to one specific discipline. Traditionally comparative education developed as the contemporary part of the history of education and hence had its roots in the discipline of history. Several workers in the field still like to look upon it as such. But over the years this position has been less and less satisfactory. If comparative education is a part of history, why not call it “contemporary history of education”? Furthermore, history has never had an exclusive hold upon the nascent discipline. Philosophy and literature and statistics, to name only a few academic areas, have always had a share in forming comparative methods. At present, sociology, anthropology, and economics have a strong impact upon the field. It would seem at a glance, then, that comparative education is of a cross-disciplinary character.

But it would be unwise to leave the definition of comparative education as cross-disciplinary. Here recent history has taught us a vital lesson. No branch of pedagogy that has lost touch with one specific parent discipline has succeeded in maintaining high intellectual standards. As the methods of comparative education develop, the body of research will need to have a home in a social science that closely corresponds to its scope and procedures. In view of the interest of comparative education in national

systems, perhaps such a home will be found in the field of political geography, which deals with descriptions in world perspective of political and social institutions, of which education is one. Or perhaps the affiliation will be found in those aspects of political science that deal with comparative government and international relations. Like comparative education, both of these disciplines study the structure and functioning of ideologies and institutions across national frontiers.

All one can say at present is that comparative education is emerging together with and distinct from philosophy, history, and sociology of education as part of the field of theory of pedagogy (in the United States commonly referred to under the awkward name "foundations of education"). Comparative education seeks to make sense out of the similarities and differences among educational systems. It catalogues educational methods across national frontiers; and in this catalogue each country appears as one variant of the total store of mankind's educational experience. If well set off, the like and the contrasting colors of the world perspective will make each country a potential beneficiary of the lessons thus received.

The foremost justification for comparative education as for other comparative studies is intellectual. Men study foreign educational systems simply because they want to know, because men must forever stir in quest of enlightenment. Just as it is a travesty of informed living to use an automobile without knowing the principle upon which it is based, it is a mockery of pedagogy to study child-rearing practices without being aware of their endless variations, not only in historical time but also in geographical perspective. Knowledge for its own sake is the sole ground upon which comparative education needs to make a stand in order to merit inclusion among other academic fields.

This is not to say that the study of comparative education has no practical application. As a professor at Princeton once put it, "No one can prevent mathematics from being occasionally applied." In point of fact, comparative education is far from being esoteric. It contributes to the field of social sciences, as well as to pedagogy, clear and important services.

First, education is a mirror held against the face of a people. Nations may put on blustering shows of strength to conceal political weakness, erect grand façades to conceal shabby backyards, and profess peace while secretly arming for conquest, but how they take care of their children tells unerringly who they are. For the American people, in particular, comparative study is indispensable now that the United States renders educational aid to nations all over the world. Many blunders in the American

reforms of the German and Japanese systems of education after World War II could have been avoided, and more can be prevented in the Peace Corps and related projects, by the simple device of solid preparation. For every nation, knowing about other nations is now not only a matter of curiosity but of necessity.

Secondly, one studies foreign education not solely to know foreign peoples but also—and perhaps most of all—to know oneself. People wrestle with foreign ways to learn about their own roots, to atomize and thus to understand the matrix of their own educational heritage. There is hardly a country in the world that is not replete with foreign influences. To say, as some Americans do, that one is “one hundred percent American” is to refer to oneself, as the anthropologist Ralph Linton has pointed out, in an Indo-European language, in figures invented by the Arabs, in a decimal system inherited from the Romans, and by the name of the Italian oceanographer Amerigo Vespucci.³ It is self-knowledge born of the awareness of others that is the finest lesson comparative education can afford. American enthusiasm for undifferentiated schools that educate all children under the common roof will be less of a puzzle when one notes the development of similar forms of education in another new country—for example, New Zealand. The history of progressivism in America will acquire a different meaning if one observes the current painful efforts of French experimental schools to forge ahead along similar patterns. The power to see schools of other countries not only as they appear in their own national context but in terms of other systems is an important goal of comparative education. It bestows knowledge both by guiding students to the true face of a foreign people and by showing their own faces reflected in foreigners’ eyes.

To understand others and to understand ourselves is to have in hand the two ingredients of comparison. Comparative “readiness,” a broader and at the same time more meticulous frame of mind, can only come from persistent practice in dealing with two or more cultures at the same time. It is being attuned to the importance of comparability that permits comparative educators to serve two practical goals: first, to deduce from the achievements and the mistakes of school systems other than their own, lessons for their own schools (or to warn policy makers that such lessons cannot be lightheartedly sought where valid comparison is impossible); and second, to appraise educational issues from a global rather than an ethnocentric perspective, or in other words, to be aware always of other nations’ points of view.

The two goals belong, as will be shown, to the two latest historical

periods of comparative education, one long established, one just emerging. Both are important enough to render comparative education indispensable in the armory of educational planners. All social sciences are based on the study of precedents. Educational reformers in one country cannot ignore relevant precedents in other countries. As its final aim, comparative education hopes to relax national pride to permit events and voices from abroad to count in the continued reappraisal and re-examination of schools.

THE METHODS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

From the point of view of method comparative education is entering upon the third phase of its history. The first phase spans the nineteenth century and was inaugurated by the first scientifically minded comparative educator, Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris in 1817.⁴ This phase might be called the period of "borrowing." Its emphasis was on cataloguing descriptive educational data; comparison of the collected information was then undertaken in order to make available the best practices of one country for transplantation to others. Taking educational systems of one country and moving them wholesale to another was thought feasible in the nineteenth century. This was the age when the French, the Belgians, and the English, on the frontiers of their empires in India and Africa, were busily turning the local population into brown Englishmen or black Belgians or Frenchmen. This was the period when successive Russian Tsars automatically assumed that eastern European Slavs could be Russified. Matthew Arnold in England, Victor Cousin in France, Leo Tolstoy and K. D. Ushinsky in Russia, Domingo Sarmiento in Argentina, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in America, all studied foreign educational systems with the explicit or implicit assumption that their countrymen should borrow, albeit prudently and cautiously, the best school practices from abroad.⁵

The second phase of comparative studies, which occupied the first half of the twentieth century, interposed a preparatory process before permitting any transplantation. Its founder Sir Michael Sadler worked at the turn of the century for the acceptance of the principle that each educational system is not readily detachable but is instead intricately connected with the society that supports it. Sadler's successors, Friedrich Schneider and Franz Hilker in Germany, Isaac Kandel and Robert Ulich in America, Nicholas Hans and Joseph Lauwerys in England, and Pedro Rosselló in Switzerland, all paid much attention to the foundations of edu-

cation, or the *Triebkräfte*, the *Corrientes*—the social causes behind the pedagogical scene.⁶ Why are the French *lycées* dedicated to the pursuit of analytical thinking? Can the answer be given without accounting for Descartes? Why are American schools practical? Is the answer unrelated to industrialization? For every pedagogical phenomenon there exists a spectrum of broader social and cultural reasons. Contemporary doyens of the field have alerted comparative educators to this constant two-way relationship between society and education. Under their guidance comparative education has passed from a process of collecting purely descriptive materials to a speculative treatment of forces responsible for educational practices. Hence educators learned to use considerably more caution when transplanting from one country to another.

This era might be called the period of "prediction" because the purpose of comparative study was now not primarily borrowing but predicting the likely success of a system of education in one country on the basis of the observation of precedents and similar experiences of other countries. Classics of this period, such as Abraham Flexner's *Universities, American, English, German*, were written in this vein. Also, several practical proposals for reform did, in fact, resort to the lessons of comparative education. The Spens Report, published in England in 1938, which laid the groundwork for the 1944 Education Act, formulated its recommendations on the basis of the testimony of, among others, I. L. Kandel, on multilateral schools abroad.⁷ The Algiers Commission in 1944, which preceded the Langevin-Wallon proposals for reform in France, based its conclusions on an examination of British and American educational traditions.⁸ The quintessence of studying foreign experiences in this period is to safeguard oneself from reckless reforms. One studies the achievements and the mistakes of other educational systems in order to be able to say what is likely to occur if one were to move in a similar direction, always keeping in mind that the experience of other countries is not wholly identical, that each has a genius of its own upon which, in a measure, the success of reforms depends.

Just as the phase of prediction followed naturally from the borrowing period, so the third phase of comparative education, the period of "analysis," has its roots in the teaching of the statesmen of the first half of our century. Schneider, Kandel, and Ulich, in particular, pondered in their later writings use of comparative education as a means of creating world unity. Several writers working in a new branch of the discipline called "international education" have understood this to mean an obligation to devote their energies to increasing, through the means of educa-

tion, fraternal relations among nations. (It should be said that current writers in international education have reacted against this ethical-emotional approach and concentrate on psychological and social studies of contacts between peoples, especially student exchanges and educational work of international organizations.) Comparative educators have interpreted this mandate instead as an obligation to develop an increasingly analytical but dispassionate study unhampered by ethical or pragmatic considerations. They hope that greater sensitivity derived from thorough analysis will help to lower the barriers of ethnocentrism and thus contribute toward better international understanding. But their primary concern is with analysis, the evolving of theory and methods, the clear formulation of steps of comparative procedures and devices to aid this enlargement of vision.

The emphasis on classifications^{*} of pedagogical and accompanying social facts is held by the present generation of comparative educators to be much more important than the ethical or emotional commitment of the discipline.⁹ The new historical period, that of analysis, is a continuation of the tradition of the period of prediction, but it postulates that before prediction and eventual borrowing is attempted there must be a systematization of the field in order to expose the whole panorama of national practices in education. Little need be said about this period by way of history; it hardly has one. There is no universal agreement as to what systematization should be followed, only an understanding that one should be looked for.

The systematic comparative classification presented below is derived from what seems to be a consensus of historical and current authorities. The conventional divisions of the field as presented below are, however, only one current variant of all possible classifications. Other versions are used in different comparative centers across the world. There is every-where agreement on the breakdown of the field into two major parts: the area studies, concerned with one country or regions at the same time. These studies, concerned with many countries or regions at the same time. These two parts might be further subdivided. Thus in area studies we speak of the descriptive phase, or geography of education, the collection of purely pedagogical data, and of the explanatory phase, or social analysis, the application of methods of other social sciences to interpret the pedagogical data thus assembled. In comparative studies one recognizes first juxtaposition, a preliminary confrontation of data from different countries; this is done for the purpose of establishing the *tertium comparationis*, the criterion upon which a valid comparison can be made and the hy-

pothesis for which it is to be made. Finally, one proceeds to comparison, a simultaneous analysis of education across national frontiers.

AREA STUDIES

The student of comparative education must begin by acquiring a thorough familiarity with the educational system of one cultural area. The area may be no more than a village or province or as large as a continent if the latter is composed of fairly similar countries. The most usual case is to deal with the educational practices of one nation.

The area study is not only legitimate but indispensable, especially in view of the heavy demands on scholarly equipment and resources that a comparative study will later require. It is only on the basis of the extremely specialized and often painstaking work of area scholarship that a comparative student can attain the required breadth of perception.¹⁰ Even if the student never goes beyond acquiring competence in one foreign country, he will be able subsequently to work in the comparative field by pairing that country off with his own.

Studying one country, simple as it seems contrasted with the involved business of comparing several countries, is nonetheless a serious scholarly undertaking. It is so because comparative education falls not solely within the field of social sciences but also within the field of humanities. The student of area studies arrives at a body of generalizations about educational systems as a result of several activities: rigorous scholarship in collecting and selecting data, firsthand recording of visual impressions, and intuitive feeling for the nature of the different cultures. A comparative judgment is an observer's final photograph of that culture. It is imperative to develop such a photograph with the least possible distortion. It is thus implicit in the comparative method that an appraisal of a culture cannot be made without careful preparation on the part of the observer. This is a law of comparative education that no serious scholar and no serious reader of the literature can afford to ignore.

Three fundamental aspects of such preparation, to each of which a subsequent chapter will be devoted, are a knowledge of the language of the area under study, residence abroad, and a never-ceasing watchfulness by the observer to control his own cultural and personal biases. Failure to comply with these prerequisites cuts one off from the true nature of the educational system under observation as effectively as blindness.¹¹ Only in exceptional cases are the writings of people who have not complied with these requirements trustworthy.

Edmund King has made a useful distinction among the levels of expectation that the field must place upon the student, the teacher, and the researcher.¹² It is possible, of course, to gain some knowledge of an area without traveling. Interested students or teachers may read translated sources of the country in which they are to work and they may interview foreign educators through an interpreter. But a knowledge of the language is the ideal. Similarly, travel and residence abroad are keys to the selection of trustworthy texts and research techniques when the time comes to study schools systematically. This is true for students as well as teachers. A knowledge of the language of a country facilitates travel and travel helps in learning the language. There may be many justifications for visiting foreign countries and schools with little or no preparation in the host language, but there is no excuse for anyone interested in comparative work returning from the country of study ignorant of the rudiments of the tongue just encountered.¹³ Even when travel is impossible, students must make strenuous efforts to maintain close personal involvement. Interviewing visiting foreign educators, listening to radio programs of the country under study, reviewing countless photographs, reading the daily press, watching foreign films—all of these activities should be sought to sharpen perception and to bring about a "fusion" with the culture one is studying.

Language and travel also help to keep in check personal biases and prejudices that are often unconscious. Subjectivity plagues all social sciences; since the days of Gustavus Meyers it has been a standing problem in the interpretation of historical evidence. Comparative educators, whether students, teachers, or researchers, must be left a choice of being personally committed or dispassionate when evaluating evidence in other countries. But if committed, they should state at the outset of their work what ideology or viewpoint they espouse.¹⁴ Their conclusions may then not be accepted by those who do not share their convictions, yet their work will be a meaningful primary source even to relativistically-minded scholars. Such scholars limit themselves to defining the goals and ambitions as expressed by each society and then measuring educational achievements and failures in terms of success in reaching these national goals.¹⁵

Description. Proper preparation¹⁶ permits comparative educators to approach their first task, the description of educational systems and practices. For this the two major aspects of study in foreign schools are the follow-up of printed sources and school visitations.

All comparative students must begin by extensive reading. A rich familiarity with current and historical bibliographical materials does not

need advocacy. The literature in the field of comparative education is divided after the fashion of other disciplines into primary, secondary, and auxiliary sources. The standard historical distinction between primary and secondary sources is that the former are writings by eye witnesses, but in comparative education this definition is not always true. Primary sources might best be described as works not involving full-scale systematic scholarly analysis. With obvious exceptions, for example the reports by commissions, which usually furnish educational accounts in digested form, in this category are official reports of ministries and other public agencies, transcripts of deliberations in legislatures and in learned conferences, leaflets and books expressing opinions of private citizens, and other such materials. Daily newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and brochures of all kinds that answer to the description of "direct information from the field" are also primary sources. Care should be taken to include here physical descriptions of schools, even if contained in novels and hence fictional. No school system can be studied adequately without a pictorial impression of the physical plant, equipment, and human relations within. International handbooks and journals and minutes of international meetings should also be consulted under this heading.

Secondary sources include books, digests, collections of articles, anthologies, and the never-ending stream of secondhand qualitative reports. It is here that the student must be on guard against misleading accounts from the pen of poorly prepared people. For balance the student must include writings by both the natives of the country under study and foreign observers. He will strive to maintain the right proportions among descriptive, analytical, and exhortatory materials. He will take care to assess the representativeness of the information presented. There is much material available in each country that purports to speak for the nation as a whole but that accounts really only for programs of small sectional pressure groups.

Auxiliary materials are books, articles, and other printed sources not directly or apparently concerned with education, yet in some measure relevant. Books on culture in general, drama, sociological accounts, all shed light on education. Details on organization of schools can oftentimes be found in books on political science. Clues to attitudes toward children are often contained in maternity handbooks. There is no limit to these sources as long as they are relevant to education.

Source reading is brought into special relief by a solid program of school visitations. People visit schools for many reasons, but for the purpose of area or comparative analysis definite systematic rules must be

followed. More care should be paid to the several methods of visiting and their effectiveness than has been done hitherto. The old method, the worst, is to go to schools completely at random or according to what the hosts are willing to show. A better way is automatically to look for a school in any locality or district one may find oneself; the distribution and quality of schools can best be determined in this way. Another way, which is useful though less likely to be possible, is to plan a regular coverage of the schools of the country, say one in each town, or one urban and one rural school in each district or territorial division, or every one hundredth school on the ministry's list. A frequently used method is to visit schools by type: one nursery, one kindergarten, one primary, and so forth; or one general purpose school, one vocational school, one adult education center, for example. Probably in practice a mixture of all these methods occurs. All should be used to the limit of their capacity.

Since the area study is always viewed as a preliminary step to comparison, care should be taken to facilitate comparability by a systematic collection of data. This is particularly important when travel embraces several countries at once, in each of which the visitor wishes to execute a preliminary area study. One ought not, in such cases, visit mostly secondary schools in one country, primary in another, and vocational schools in yet another. Visits to state universities in one country should not be matched with observations of church-run universities in another, and private universities in a third country. One should not visit two institutions in a country of half a million people and expect to compare them with only two institutions in a country of 200 million people. If one allots time to interviews with officials in one country one should not concentrate only on classroom visitations in another country.

After choosing the method of school visitations, time spent in each and modes of studying them should be determined. Even trivial details are important. For example, one must remember that Saturday and Sunday can be spent for cultural purposes but not in visiting schools. One should take account in travel plans of the varying holidays, customs, and even the climate of the area to be visited. Many an unwearied traveler has planned a two-day visit to London that turned out to fall on Bank Holiday, or spent unhappy days trudging through the mud in the countries affected by the rainy season. School vacations also vary from country to country, with the result that sometimes travelers are confronted with closed doors and empty classrooms. There are times and places when lady visitors cannot and gentlemen visitors should not appear unescorted in the evenings. Even with the arrival of the jet airplane, time for travel, recuperation

after arrival, and adjustment to cuisine should be budgeted for. Activities must also be planned in terms of local school schedules. It is unwise to hope for more than four official interviews a day.

Most schools probably will have to be visited on a one-day or even half-day basis. For the sake of systematic observation the ideal is to spend at least six weeks to three months in one particular school, preferably on its teaching staff. Too long a stay brings diminishing returns for a time better spent elsewhere. Nonetheless, care should be taken to assign adequate time not only for interviews with teachers, administrators, and pupils but for direct class participation. The best results come when one is permitted to wander through the school and to sample as many classes as is feasible. A visit to a class, whether previously announced or not, should embrace a whole class period or several consecutive periods so that the novelty of the visitor may wear off with the children and the teacher. For this reason also it is better not to take notes while observing. Whether or not one is permitted to teach or to participate in any way, careful notes of the proceedings should be collated every evening.

It is obvious from the above that a half-hour tour of the gymnasium, the cafeteria, and the library is hardly an adequate method of school study, useful as it may be otherwise. Even so, one should be careful not to mistake simple school visitation for a thorough school survey. No one is fully trained in the techniques of area study unless he has participated in at least one such survey.

Modern school surveys are a body of socioeducational research executed by a team of scholars. Usually one or more classroom educators, educational administrators, and philosophers of education team up with psychologists, sociologists, and statisticians. The operation is planned as any other field research in sociology. The formulation of a working hypothesis for research is followed by a pilot study that furnishes the basis for a thorough program of school observation, field interviews, student testing, and canvassing of opinions. The joint reports of such research teams represent the most valuable category of primary sources available to comparative educators. Ample precedents for conducting school surveys are now available in America and elsewhere.

The final problem in studying the "geography of education" is the method of organizing the data collected. Because of the many and often unpredictable demands of subsequent comparison, comparative educators since Jullien's time have tended to adopt exhaustive lists of checkpoints and categories according to which school materials in each country were collected and then compared. Such comprehensive insurance against

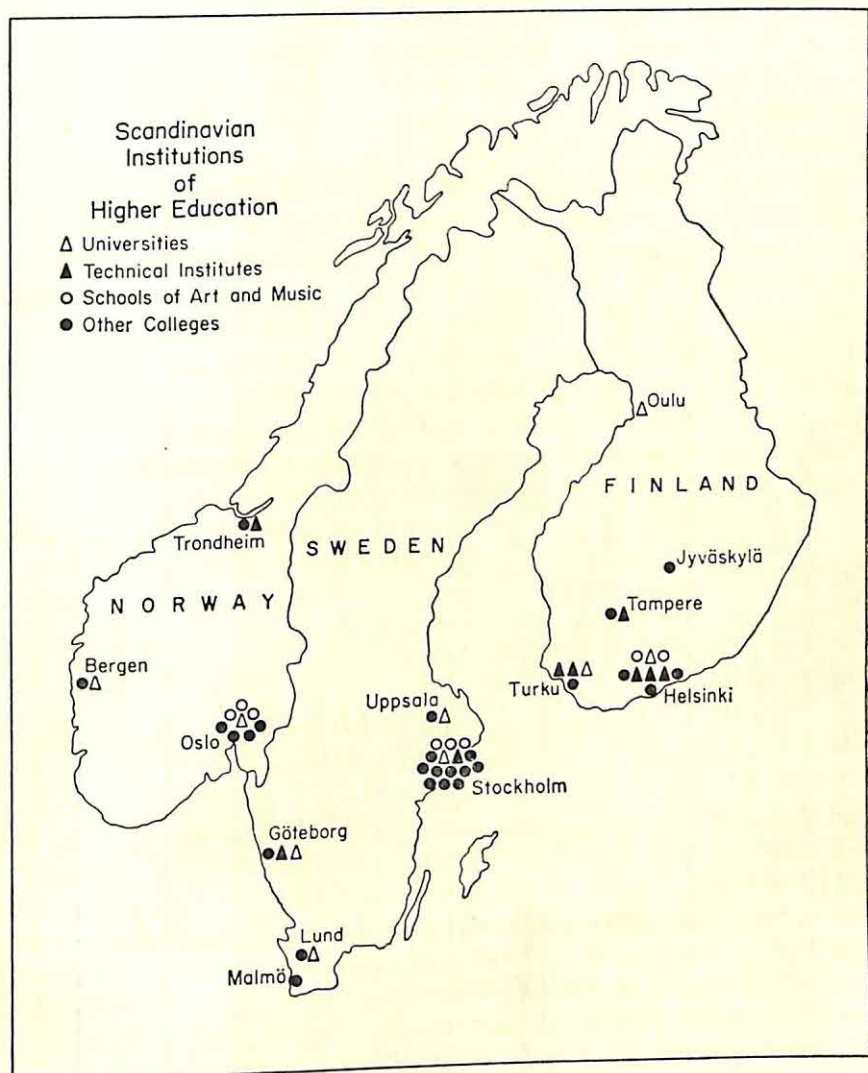


Fig. 1. Description by means of a map. Prepared by Edith Cheever from The Europa Year Book (London: Europa Publications, 1961), Vol. 1.

JAPAN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION IN EACH AGE GROUP IN DIFFERENT
TYPES OF EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN JAPAN

Projection for 1958

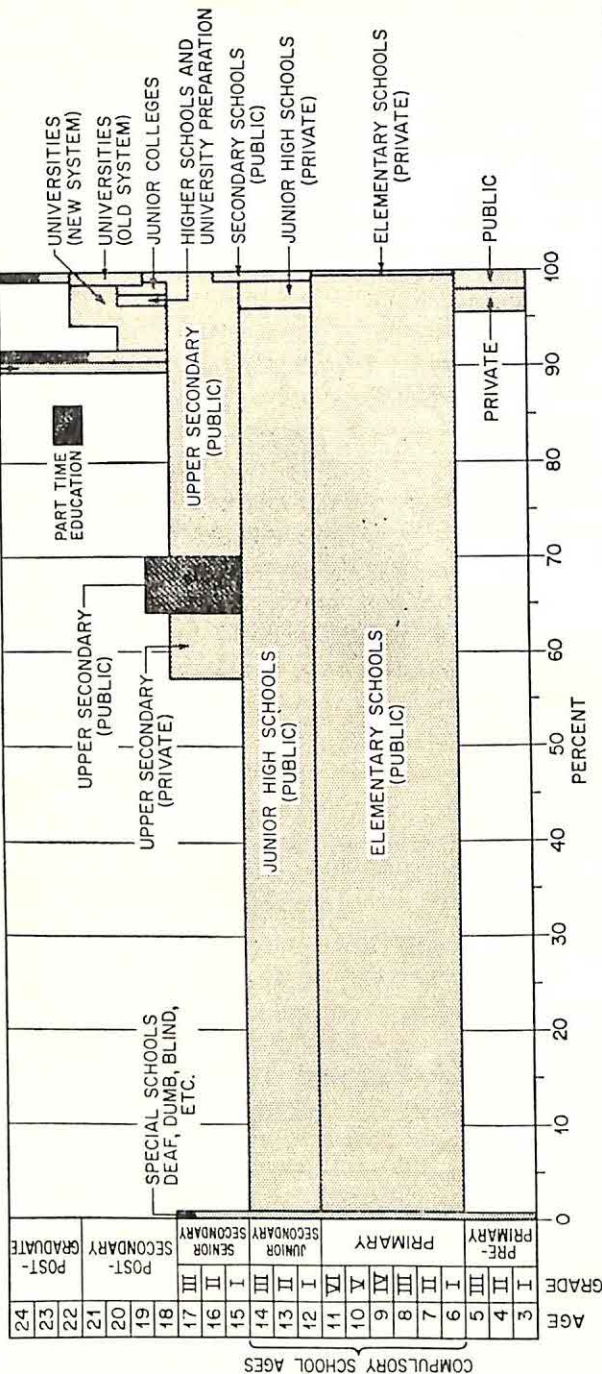


Fig. 2. Description by means of a diagram. Prepared by J. T. Force.
All areas in black denote part time education.

any eventuality is no longer always needed or even desirable. Rather, one should urge students to seek guidance from the experience of social scientists in developing carefully thought out and matched plans of research. All-embracing collections of educational information about each country are readily available in the UNESCO Clearing House in Paris, in the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, in the U.S. Office of Education in Washington, in the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg, in the Sector for Pedagogy Abroad of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in Moscow, and elsewhere.¹⁷ Individual researchers often need no more than a quick look at the educational facts that can be secured by a simple card or other filing system. Maps of the area under study can present by isotypes or other cartographic methods the distribution of schools, percentage of school age groups in the total population, number of teachers, and so forth (Fig. 1).¹⁸ Statistical tables of enrollment and diagrams of school organization (Fig. 2) are most useful, the latter especially if drawn to show the proportion of the age groups actually enrolled.¹⁹

For subsequent comparative research, students should seek the guidance of social scientists in developing carefully thought out and matched plans of study. Descriptive data should never result in fifty-page essays of boring, ill-related detail. When possible, facts should be presented in tables, as below, constructed according to preconceived analytical categories. Obviously a division of school "route" into preschool, primary, junior secondary, and senior secondary, and postsecondary and postgraduate stages is simple as a basic conceptual scheme.²⁰ There are several other possible classifications, for example, by point of admission, program, and point of graduation in secondary schools. The use of such tables ensures not only coverage and orderliness but also automatically prepares the

Description: Table of Soviet School Reforms, 1958.

Preschool Education	Not changed by the reform, but in 1959 nursery schools were transferred from the jurisdiction of the ministries of health and, similar to the kindergarten, became a responsibility of the ministries of education.
Primary Education	Not changed by reform. Continued fight to eliminate one-room schools and to insure universal attendance.

Junior Secondary Education	Extension of compulsory total attendance from seven to eight years, inclusion of workshop practice in all classes. New emphasis on esthetic training.
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Senior Secondary Education	Division into general schools of polytechnical education (day), evening schools (old schools for rural and urban youth), technicums. No change in labor reserve system or special talent schools. Experiments with polytechnical education in all grades. Shift to eleven-year school due to expansion of lower level education. New curricula to implement above changes.
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Postsecondary Education	Limited expansion of the number of higher institutions. Extension of the two-year work principle as condition of admission. Emphasis on character references for admission. Stepping up of political training. University of the Friendship of the Peoples. Decentralization of the ministry of higher education. Increase of its jurisdiction over the technicums.
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Postgraduate Education	Not changed by reform, but the measure foreshadowed expansion of numbers and revision in candidate and doctoral programs. Reorganization of Academy of Science and opening of universities of culture also followed.
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data for future comparison with other countries similarly processed. In Chapters Two and Five two different methods of double-column tabulation will demonstrate the usefulness of this approach to description.

Interpretation. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the preparation and processing of purely descriptive educational data is but the first step

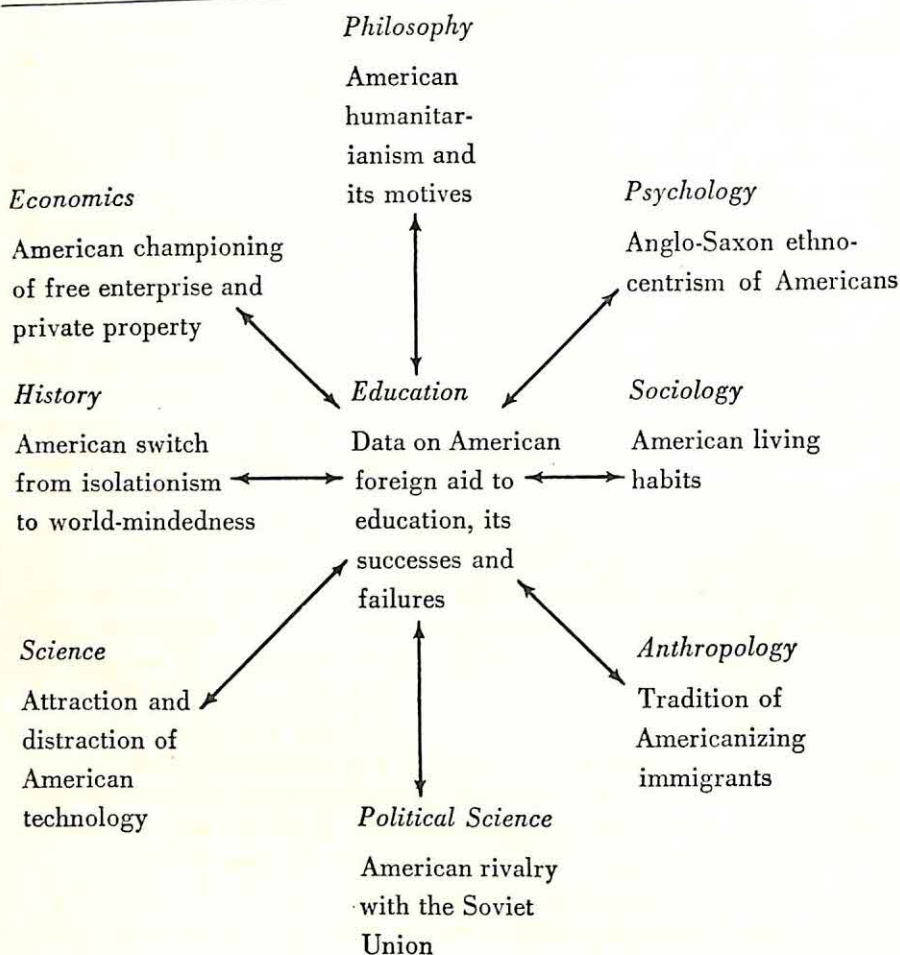
in an area study. A written account of school life in one or several foreign countries is useful to the student as a source of information and as preliminary training, but it is by itself not the purpose of comparative education. Friedrich Schneider has long called such activity *Auslandspädagogik* (pedagogy in foreign lands) as against *Vergleichende Pädagogik* (comparative education). The latter involves not description but interpretation of information and consists of subjecting the pedagogical data to scrutiny in terms of other social sciences.

A simple example illustrates the difference between educational facts and interpretation. At the present time the United States is heavily committed to rendering educational aid to underdeveloped countries. Millions of dollars are spent abroad every year to advise foreign governments how to build schools, how to disseminate reading knowledge and reading materials. Yet many Americans agree that the results of these activities are not fully crowned with success. It is particularly noticeable that American participation, though often eagerly sought at first, is later disliked and rejected.

These are the facts; the reasons are, of necessity, complex and must be sought in terms of several social sciences. To choose sociology as an illustration, American living habits supply a revealing, if somewhat commonplace, explanation. It is a well-known fact that to Americans good housing is perhaps more important than an adequate diet. As one anthropologist put it, "Nowhere else in the world does man perform his ablutions in so much chromium-plated splendor." This means that when Americans go abroad they naturally seek quarters and areas that offer housing appointments of the quality they are used to. Such facilities in most countries can be had only in the best hotels and in the richest residential districts. It is there that Americans congregate, and it is from there that they usher forth every morning with their good intentions to uplift the "natives."

But these quarters or villas or clubs have for centuries been associated in the minds of the people with the ruling group, the elite, the rich. And whether oppressive or paternal, the rich by the very fact of their riches are considered exploiters. The rich can do no right. If they spend money they are spendthrifts, if they save money they are misers. If for no other reason, their living habits have identified Americans—who in reality are ordinary, common folk intent on exporting democratic ideals—with the high-born and the rich. From this sociological fact it is an easy step to hold suspect all American aid as "imperialism." Other social sciences, when applied to educational information, as in the illustration below, elicit further the full significance of this fact.

Interpretation: American Educational Efforts Abroad



There is no end to the interrelations between school and society. To elucidate them comparative educators and social scientists must have a common language. Every student of comparative education should have the working knowledge of at least one, and possibly two or three, disciplines other than education so that he may apply sociology, history, economics, or other areas to the field of his interest. Different students have different equipment but all must have several tools and are expected

to utilize in educational analysis the variety of methods derived from such knowledge.

All of the humanities and social sciences should be used to broaden the vistas of comparative education. To this day no school program can be adequately explained without reference to the ultimate philosophical commitment of the society it serves, nor can educational changes be compared while ignoring the historical period in which they take place.²¹ Comparative analysis is now concerned with the sociological impact of education upon the formation of public opinion, the economic role of education as public investment, or the changing rights of parents versus the political community in determining educational programs.

Comparative educators should also have greater recourse to psychology, which after the abortive national character studies in the thirties is now much neglected. Science, in spite of C.P. Snow's exhortations, is rarely used in comparative analysis; literature, demography, and religion are also ignored.²² Should a rigorous training in one parent discipline, such as political science, be accepted as a prerequisite for comparative education, this would give its researchers strength to explore related disciplines in the manner of social scientists.

The second analytical step in area studies is to expose fully the assembled pedagogical information on schools to a test of social relevance. At this point the researcher must look for the wider meanings of this school data in terms of society at large. Here children in school are viewed not only as pupils but also as age cohorts (statistics), teenage subcultures (sociology), maturing minds (philosophy), or man power (economics). Interpretation consists of using one after another the approaches and methods of different social sciences to see what light they may shed upon the collected pedagogical evidence. By exposing the data to a rosette of different disciplines one emerges with an evaluation of not only educational happenings but also of their causes and connections. It is the *why* rather than the *how* that permits one to embark upon direct comparison.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

There is one important difference between an area study and a comparative approach. A report on one country is within the realm of area studies, whether it is done in a purely descriptive fashion or as an explanatory analysis. The repetition of area study methods for several countries is still no more than an area approach if the result is merely a

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listing of one country after another. When one puts down a series of unconnected chapters, paragraphs, or even sentences such as:

The Japanese school offers instruction in flower arrangement.
The Jewish cheder demands memorization of Talmud.
Some American college programs include courses in bowling,

one is not comparing anything; one is instead asking the reader to make his own comparison and draw his own conclusions.

Juxtaposition and Comparison. The comparative approach begins with juxtaposition. The consecutive listing presented above, misleadingly named by many textbooks as "comparative education," leads at this stage to a search for a unifying concept and hypothesis. An enumeration of educational practices of different countries for a specific purpose of tracing, for example, the principle of compulsory education or the presence of nationalism, would be considered a comparative treatment if prefaced by a defining statement under which the material is to be compared. Then the data must be reviewed with the theme in mind and summed up in a hypothesis stating the gist of the comparative analysis that is to be finally undertaken. The three sentences quoted above would look in the stage of juxtaposition as follows:

In searching for "unusual" features of curriculum across the world, we observe several different practices in the formal programs:

The Japanese school offers instruction in flower arrangement.
The Jewish cheder demands memorization of the Talmud.
Some American college programs include courses in bowling.

These odd features are clues to the more general character of the systems that practice them and to the nations that sponsor them.

This approach, embodying as it does one guiding idea, is preliminary to writing up comparative materials. The next step, the comparison, entails a simultaneous treatment of several and all countries studied to prove the hypothesis derived from the juxtaposition.²³ A comparison is in a final analysis an ordering process; it means not *laying out* but *highlighting* educational materials previously processed. The example given above would in a full-scale comparative analysis run somewhat like this:

Unusual features of curriculum in comparative perspective sometimes furnish clues to more general educational characteristics. We observe, for instance, that the Japanese school offers instruction in flower

arrangement, the Jewish cheder insists on memorization of the Talmud, some American college programs include courses in bowling. More general notions of the Japanese quest for contemplative beauty, the Jewish dedication to intellectual rigor and the American preoccupation with education for leisure time can be deduced from these facts.

The bridge that spans the area studies hitherto described and comparative studies proper is the hardest point to cross in comparative education. Somehow the habits of thinking in national terms make it easier to try to make sense of education in one area than to cross and recross national frontiers to engage at once in comparison of several countries. Yet to bring out properly the cartographic relief of the many educational systems, area studies must be followed by the juxtaposition and comparison of each to the others. Even a superficial comparison opens the eyes of the student to the truly broadening vistas. This extra dimension to the total thinking processes is the most substantial contribution that comparative studies in general have to offer.

We pass now to a more detailed discussion of the complete comparison. Here it has become accepted to distinguish two approaches. The first, the problem approach, enables the student to survey comparative evidence in small segments. The second, the total approach, exposes the whole educational panorama.

Problem Approach. No student of comparative education can attempt the total comparative approach described in the next section without a life-long, full time preparation for the task. Hence the justification for the problem approach.²⁴ The problem analysis is an apprenticeship for the total analysis and at the same time a crowning of the research steps referred to previously. It involves a selection of one theme, one topic, and the examination of its persistence and variability throughout the representative educational systems. The questions of what is development education, for example, or what is science training or what are the methods of teaching languages in a relevant set of countries would be fitting subjects of problem analysis.

The most fruitful way of studying problems is to select those that are living and relevant educational questions in the student's own country. In the United States, for example, one such problem is the relationship of church and state in education (tabulated below). Taking the complete separation of church and state as the basis of the American tradition, the ques-

tion with which educational policy makers are constantly faced is whether continued separation is desirable or whether American schools should move into an era of closer relationship with the church. Federal aid to schools, free bus transportation to parochial schools, the teaching of religion in public schools or released time for that purpose—these are all questions that are vigorously disputed.

Comparison: The Problem of Church and State in Education

<i>USSR</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>ENGLAND</i>	<i>HOLLAND</i>	<i>SPAIN</i>	<i>TIBET</i>
State control	Separation of church and state	Compromise with state control	Compromise without state control	Church control	Union of church and state

Insights into how to solve these disputes can be gained by examining how different areas of the world have solved similar problems in similar or different circumstances. One may first of all look at what happens in schools of an atheistic type such as in the USSR. One may then construct a model of a completely church-influenced school system by taking Spain or even Tibet as an example. Having thus identified the "polarities," the extreme points on the scale of church and state relations in education, one is able to put the United States in its proper place on the scale.

Thus one arrives at a typology of an educational problem,²⁵ valuable in itself as a cataloguing process and potentially instructive for each country involved. Comparative education furnishes educational planners with a set of alternatives from which to select an appropriate policy. The Russians might find, for example, that instead of clinging to absolute atheism in education they could, by moving in the direction of separation of church and state, retain their ideological hold upon the schools without having forever to battle the persistent and re nascent religious feelings. The United States, which is hard pressed to abandon the separation of church and state, could choose between the controlled fusion in England or the independent parallel financing of national and church schools in Holland, or for that matter, Canada. Evidence can be adduced to show that the English compromise, whereby church schools receive state aid proportional to state control, is working well. The ques-

tion would then be narrowed to whether the transplantation of the English compromise would cause more upheaval than the present pressures for change. The close connection between financing of church schools and the principle of federal control would also come into view. The comparison would show that underneath the maneuvering for various technical arrangements there lurks the central questions common to all countries—who is to control the moral education of youth. The American decision could thus clearly cut through the maze of specific arguments and counterarguments by resolving this issue.

Problems such as selective education versus education for all, the status of teachers, juvenile delinquency, local versus central school control, racial problems in education, the status of women in education can all be fruitfully studied. In each case extreme models for the relevant problems are sought amidst educational systems of the world, and between these polarities variations on the theme (including the American) are discussed. Thus conceived the value of the problem approach is clear. It is a much needed apprenticeship to a truly comparative method.

Total Analysis. Only after working on countless problems and doggedly accumulating experience in research should comparative educators turn to total analysis. The concern with the over-all impact of education upon society in a world perspective is the culminating point of the discipline. This is an area fitting for a *magnum opus* of a researcher's career. In fact only the most eminent comparative educators of our age—for example Kandel, Schneider, Ulich, Rosselló, and Lauwerys—have attempted it. As in all social sciences, this final stage of the discipline is concerned with the formulation of “laws” or “typologies” that permit an international understanding and a definition of the complex interrelation between the schools and the people they serve. The total analysis, as the term indicates, deals with the imminent general forces upon which all systems are built.

The value of the problem approach just described is that by steady expansion of its scope it shades off almost imperceptibly into total analysis. An example will serve to illustrate. The financing of education is a problem now receiving well-merited attention. The Soviet Sputnik unleashed in the United States the great debate about the respective percentages of national income (or budget) spent on education by the USA and the USSR.²⁶ In Europe, too, several projects associated with OECD in France, Friedrich Edding in Germany, and Philip Idenburg in Holland are under way; Pedro Rosselló also deserves mention for his

annual reports on the subject. With the advances of industrialization the problem of how much national wealth should be devoted to education is acquiring paramount importance. It leads directly to questions as to what the status quo is. What lessons should be drawn from the degree of commitment of different countries to education?

It takes little for this problem to become widened into a total enquiry. All over the world, but particularly among the so-called new nations, the amount of money available for education, whether from national sources or foreign aid, is limited. Each nation can spend on its total investment just so much and no more. The question at once presents itself where best to apply the money. Should these poor nations concentrate on producers' goods, new roads, capital investment in factories and heavy industry on the premise that these will bring prosperity and thus permit them to afford more education for the people later? Or should they put the bulk of their money into schools on the ground that more educated people will further economic progress? And if they do both, how should they slice the cake?

The connection between education and the economy well merits comparative analysis. Today, and in the future, people who profess to have definite answers to these questions will gather in legislatures in Indonesia, Tanganyika, or Brazil and vote investment in education on the basis of no more than their intuitive opinions. A comparative perspective would unquestionably broaden their vision. A comparative analysis of the historical and contemporary commitment of funds by rich and poor countries, an enquiry into the connection between standards of education and national well-being is urgently needed. In the Meiji reforms Japan built up her schools and flourished. But in our century Mexico similarly built up her schools and did not flourish. Is it because Japan geared education to industry while Mexico centered on rural schools? Why then did Denmark flourish after Grundtvig adapted its folk high schools to an agricultural economy?

Ultimately total analysis must raise questions such as these and provide some of the answers through geographical comparison. It must go even further toward a total comprehension of the interdependence of all aspects of education and society around it. The following illustration presents in broad outlines one possible method of correlating the diverse variables involved. It shows how emphasis on progress through individualism in the United States, a dynamic goal, produced a series of consequences leading to permissiveness in schools, while in England, the ideal of an orderly society, a more static goal, places emphasis on self-discipline

Education and Society in Total Comparison

	USA	ENGLAND	USSR	JAPAN
Goals of Society	Progress through individualism	Order and law	Progress through collectivism	Fulfillment of duties of man
Goals of Education	Individual development	Character formation	Effective knowledge	Contemplation
Social Implementation	Practical progressive	Analytical academic	Formal encyclopedic	Traditional aesthetic
Individual Enforcement	Permissive	Self-discipline	Discipline for a purpose	Discipline for its own sake

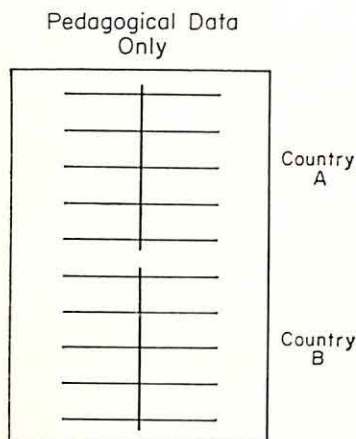
instead; at the same time, collectivism in the Soviet Union, a functional goal, led to functional discipline, while idealization of duties, a static goal in Japan, brought forth discipline for its own sake.

An attempt to juxtapose by generalization the central ideals of each nation and to trace the way in which they are reflected in education is not without methodological objections. For one thing, the categories presented are so broad that disputes may arise about their use in one country rather than in another.²⁷ Certainly all societies share common social and educational goals, but each puts a different emphasis upon them. The total analysis shown in Table 4 is revealing because it attempts to catch the actual commitment of each society to a definite first *priority* social goal. It shows how this social goal is expressed in the schools. It indicates, furthermore, how the curriculum is influenced by social and educational controls and what demands in turn are placed upon the individual. Even if such a comparative scheme is examined only so that it may be rejected, its teaching value is substantial.

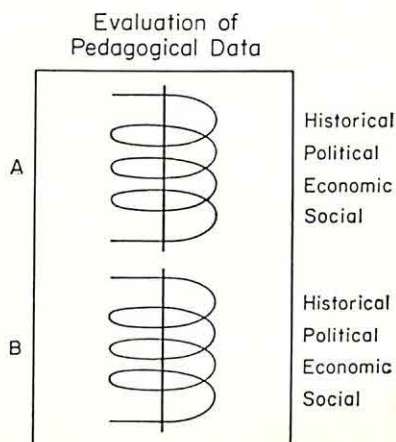
First description, the systematic collection of pedagogical information in one country, then interpretation, the analysis in terms of social sciences, then juxtaposition, a simultaneous review of several systems to determine the framework in which to compare them, and finally com-

parison, first of select problems and then of the total relevance of education in several countries—these four steps (Fig. 3) point the way to the future for comparative education.

I. DESCRIPTION

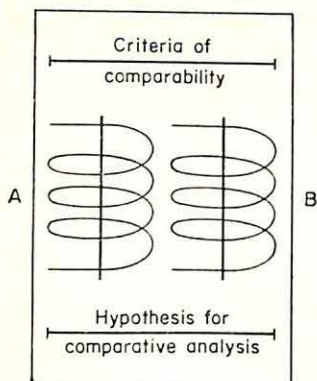


II. INTERPRETATION



III. JUXTAPOSITION

Establishing Similarities
and Differences



IV. COMPARISON

Simultaneous
Comparison

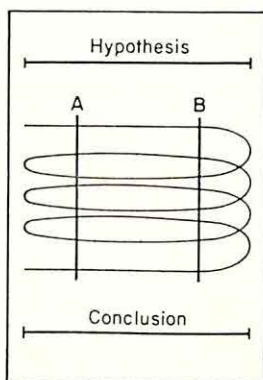


Fig. 3. Steps of comparative analysis.

Chapter Two

Mechanics of Writing

Reform in France and Turkey¹

In this chapter we pass from an outline of theory to an illustration of the mechanics of comparative analysis. What follows is an example of the application of the four steps discussed in Chapter 1. In order to demonstrate the methodological steps of analysis, the basic subject matter will be treated four times. This necessarily entails some repetition. The chapter deals with the effectiveness of school reforms, but it should not be taken as an example of a model problem analysis. It is intended, rather, to demonstrate the methods of writing reports in the graduated planned manner by which comparative analysis should be carried out. In accordance with previous discussions, this chapter, as indeed the rest of the book, stops short of the total approach.

The following pages concern themselves with a schematic review of the problems of legislating effective school reforms. The discussion consists of a brief parallel overview of two sets of reforms, the first in French schools, the second in Turkish education, and culminating in a simultaneous treatment of the two systems.² As will be seen, the evidence on reforms in France and Turkey will be marshaled in order to determine whether reforms of the school system are carried out more effectively when supported by the cohesive machinery of state enforcement facilities. The "simultaneous comparison" will help to prove or disprove this hypothesis depending on the discovery of overriding similarities or differences in the reform history of the two societies.

DESCRIPTION

This is the cataloguing of purely pedagogical detail. The subsequent work of comparison that awaits the student demands that such collection of facts should not be haphazard. A construction of a classification of some kind must precede the work of assembling the data. The approach used in this section is by means of the schematic table illustrated in Chapter 1.³ The categories used have been worked out with the present comparison in mind. Each table should be accompanied by a complete list of bibliographical sources. Only brief sample lists are provided in this section as illustrations and only one native language source is included for each country.

School Reform in France

<i>Points of Comparison</i>	<i>Country: France</i>
1. General information	The dissatisfaction with the functioning of the educational system between the two world wars, exemplified by the movement for the <i>école unique</i>, led to the first proposals of reforms in 1937, the <i>Projet Jean Zay</i>. Further conferences were held in the war period in Algiers, and after the war the Langevin-Wallon Commission appointed in 1944, formulated a proposal in 1947. In 1955 minister of education J. Berthoin prepared a new bill, taken over by his successor Billières in 1956, and enacted under Berthoin in his next ministry 1958-1959 for a 1960 (now 1967) implementation. Berthoin was replaced by A. Bulloche in January 1959, who in turn resigned in 1960 over the church and state clauses of Premier Debré's financial proposals for schools.
2. Initiative for Reform	Unrest was fomented by individual teachers anxious for progressive move-

(2. continued)

ments in education and chafing under the restrictions of the rigidly academic training. They were supported by the growing numbers of those whom the highly selective system has penalized in one way or another. Actual reforms were initiated by politicians in response to public pressure and by the more progressive school administrators, but implementation depends upon the action of the national legislature and upon acceptance of the new law by school administrators and teachers.

3. Official Purpose

The intent was to widen the entry to the academic branches of secondary education; to create alternative non-academic channels in secondary schools; to postpone and to make less rigid the selection to secondary schools. It was also hoped the reforms would ease the bottlenecks at the *baccalauréat* level.

4. School Population Affected

Some 15 percent of the total population of 43 million are in the age group 5-14. Of these some 7 million are in primary schools, over 2 million in secondary and technical schools. A rough estimate of those affected would be some 3½ million in the 11-16 group, under 1 million in the 16-18 group.

5. Experiments Preceding Reform

Classes nouvelles in the 11-13 age group inaugurated progressive-type teaching in secondary schools and grew from 200 to 1000 between 1945 and 1952. At that time they were abolished but the work was carried on by a number of *lycées pilotes*.

**6. Implementation
Procedure**

Implementation was by means of conferences of educators, reports by commissions, presentation of legislative bills to the National Assembly. The enacted laws were enforced by the strongly centralized ministry of education.

**7. Description
of Reform**

The Berthoin Law provides for a cycle of orientation between 11 and 13 years of age to which all children are to be admitted without examination. It extends the compulsory law until 16. It provides the 13-18 group with roughly the following opportunities:

Vocational and agricultural courses in the senior primary school.

Short and long technical courses in technical colleges (old apprenticeship centers) and technical *lycées* (old technical *baccalauréat*).

Short and long general courses in colleges of general education (old complementary courses) and *lycées* (old general secondary schools).

8. Aftermath

The total implementation of the reform is now scheduled for 1967 but is as yet uncertain. The first application occurred in September 1961 when for the first time the *classes de sixième*, reopened without Latin. Further reorganization of the *baccalauréat*, expansion in numbers enrolled, and aid to private schools are some of the other changes effected.

9. Sample Sources

Cultural Services of the French Embassy, *Education in France*, No. 1-13, December 1957-December 1960.

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School Reform in Turkey

Points of Comparison

Country: Turkey

1. General Information

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in reaction to the Ottoman Empire. The new government embarked on a policy of westernization of the country, which soon involved the schools. In 1924 the new Turkish constitution was passed, whereby the strictly secular control of the schools, compulsory education, and a new progressive primary school curriculum recommended by John Dewey was implemented. The secondary schools established at the same time were modeled on the French *lycées*. In 1928 the new alphabet was ordered and the country embarked on the campaign against illiteracy. In 1929 a strongly central ministry of education was given responsibility for all schools. But 25 years of implementation produced strong criticism by the public and forced the government to seek a new revision of the school system. In 1948 a committee assembled by the ministry advised reorganization. The proposals then formulated were confirmed by the superior educational council, an advisory body of the ministry, in 1949 and began to be implemented by the ministry from 1950 onwards. The change of government in 1960 has begun a new phase of planning for reforms.

2. Initiative for Reform

Government officials and educators under the pressure of public opinion began the planning of the new measures.

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| 3. Official Purpose | The reform was initiated in an effort to westernize culturally the state, the adult population, and the younger generation; to abolish illiteracy; to ensure five years of compulsory primary education; to expand postprimary education; and to improve the quality of training in crafts and technical skills. |
| 4. School Population Affected | Some 24 percent, or 6 million people out of a population of 24 million, are in the 5-14 age group. Of these some 2½ million are in the primary schools and 200,000 in secondary schools. All are affected by the continuing reform. |
| 5. Experiments Preceding Reform | There were no experiments preceding the introduction of the new system other than the precedents established by the existing foreign schools and western influences in the state schools under the Ottoman Empire. |
| 6. Implementation Procedure | Little or no legislative action is required. Reforms depend on decisions of the ministry of education. The ministry consults professional experts, namely <i>ad hoc</i> technical committees, its permanent board of education and training, its superior education council, which meets every three years. |
| 7. Description of Reform | Compulsory education was proclaimed in 1924, and the whole system was unified to prevent religious domination. The ministry of education was placed in unchallenged control of all schools, public and private. A system of primary urban and rural schools was inaugurated. Secondary schools were established on the French pattern. |

(7. continued)

The reform of writing came in 1928. A series of curricular changes culminated in the 1948 reform which simplified programs by condensation of history and geography into social studies, by introduction of handicraft and economics, by teaching of civics, and by reforms of teacher training.

8. Aftermath

The teaching of religion was reintroduced in 1950 in primary schools and made optional in secondary schools. Otherwise the course of reform was given a boost by the arrival of the Gursel government in 1960. The Elementary Education Law of 1961 defined a ten-year program of investment in education, the training of 50,000 teachers, employment of officer cadets and noncommissioned officers in village schools, and a new program in adult education. The government is in the process of elaborating a master plan for yet another total reform of education. It is too early to assess the impact of these changes and plans.

9. Sample Sources

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Emin Hekimgil, *Education in Turkey*. Ankara: Turkish Ministry of Education, 1959.

Osman Ergin, *Turkiye Maarif Tarihi* (History of Turkish Education), cilt 5; *Cumhuiyet devri Mektepleri* (Schools during the Republic), pp. 1322-1332. Ankara: Osmambey Matbaas, 1943.

INTERPRETATION

This step consists of exposing the tabulated pedagogical information to social science analysis. The materials presented here are briefly written up in terms of history, political science, economics, and sociology, the four disciplines in which this writer had training and experience. This step of analysis continues to be applied to each country separately. Together with description it belongs to area studies.

Educational Reform in France

Historical Aspects. The student will want to know whether France is stable or dynamic in relation to educational progress. He will discover a general tradition of conservatism, a heritage that obtains notwithstanding the Revolution and that has in fact been applied to the institutions of government derived from the Revolution. The next question will be whether this historical heritage also predominates in the schools. The French school system is conservatively run. Even the reforms of the past—the *Université de France* of Napoleon, the Guizot Law of 1833 on primary education, and the institution of secular and compulsory education by Ferry in 1882—have become conservative and are adhered to tenaciously. The student will attempt to project this heritage into the current period. He will discover the 1959 reform of secondary education to have been an end process of a long period of deliberations. It grew out of the movement for the *école unique* sponsored by the *Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle* who between the two world wars succeeded in pushing through such advances as the extension of the compulsory school age to 14 and free secondary education. The student will observe that the

Jean Zay Plan just before World War II addressed itself to the postponement of the secondary school selection by the institution of a middle school course, the *classes d'orientation*. He will see that the movement for a thorough overhauling of the system reached a full embodiment in the formulation of a bill of reform by the Langevin-Wallon Commission in 1944. This bill, rejected in 1944, 1947, and 1955, was pushed through the National Assembly as a radical reform by Jean Berthoin in 1958 and is to become law within this decade. The historical survey will suggest the slow tempo of all educational reforms in France and the unlikelihood of brusque measures succeeding overnight.

Political Aspects. The enactment of the reform followed the accession of De Gaulle to power and the drawing up of a new constitution, which streamlines the organization of the French state. Hence the student will look for relationships between strong state executive and educational reform. He will find that the strong executive power of the Fifth Republic seems, indeed, to have succeeded in moving the educational system from its moorings. But even so, the date of the actual application of the reform cannot be determined with certainty nor can its final outcome. The student will look for reasons. He will see that French schools are administered by a strongly centralized and united system of control; the ministry of education has absolute political power over the schools. It would seem on the face of it that this system would facilitate the process of instituting change. But in actual fact it will be easy to determine that the functionaries of the ministry, as indeed the teaching profession as a whole, are deeply conservative. The conclusion derived from a political approach would be once again that the reform will proceed cautiously, and this may delay the success of the proposed overhauling.

Economic Aspects. The student will look for economic reasons behind the reform. The provisions of the 1958 law will appear to have resulted from the failure of the previous system to adapt to the increasingly diversified needs of an industrial society. The program of the secondary school is staunchly academic, and though universally recognized as the epitome of good intellectual education, it prepared poorly for any but white collar positions. Furthermore, secondary school tradition and prestige radiated powerfully upon the primary and the vocational education, thus preventing their evolution in the direction of alternative non-academic channels of opportunity. The student will attempt to survey

the economic features of the present reform. He will study the *baccalauréat technique*, designed to introduce within the secondary schools a competing qualification to the old academic degree. The new law carries the principle of destroying the monopoly of the academic *bachot* further. It creates an over-all threefold division of the 13-plus age group. The majority, it will be observed, were slated to continue in senior primary schools and receive agricultural and vocational training. There is a question whether this is sufficient to supply the skills demanded by the economy. The remainder would be placed in the apparently equivalent technical or general secondary branch, both to include short three-year and long five-year courses. The comparative education student will determine the percentages of the age group entering each type of school. He will weigh the chances of the technical branch of education becoming an effective alternative to the academic branch. He will observe the resistance of the existing system to the potent economic pressures behind the reform.

Social Aspects. An attempt must also be made to consider the social questions implied in the French reforms. The extension of the compulsory school age to 16 is a step along the road to expanding opportunity. Similarly, the institution of the *cycle d'orientation* for the 11-13 age group is a recognition that the former 11-plus selection for secondary education by the *examen de sixième* was in reality a socioeconomic rather than an intellectual selection. The two-year "safety belt" now proposed is to have a twofold purpose: a) observation and guidance so that the final assignment of pupils may be made more equitably and b) provision for a "comprehensive" school setting for the 11-13 group in the interest of closer social contact and fraternity. The student will put these social forces against the strong residuum of conservatism and observe their important connotations for the future social function of the French schools. He will conclude that the reforms need a long trial period to establish themselves and that their social significance will depend on the success or failure of the numerous counterattempts to enlist the academic traditions on the side of social elitism.

Educational Reform in Turkey

Historical Aspects. Upon glancing at Turkish history the student will find that the country owes its origin, and one suspects, its vitality, to a remote Asian tribe whose descendants have in time overrun Asia Minor

and whose leaders established the Ottoman Empire. Originally the strength of the nation resided in its rulers, warriors, and administrators, all trained at the court of the Sultan, many having risen from the status of Christian slaves or rural shepherds. This has importance for education. Throughout the history of the empire education centered around the *maktab*, the primary Koranic schools, and the *madrassegh*, the secondary religious schools. The latter taught not only Islam but the sum total of Arab learning, including geometry and astronomy, and served as an avenue of social mobility. Somewhat as in China, graduates of the religious schools qualified for judgeships and other posts according to the level of education they attained. It is this historical notion of learning as the means of material advancement that is important in modern Turkish education.

Political Aspects. The policy inaugurated by Kemal Ataturk is one of an almost total casting aside of the old traditions. The student will study Turkey as it found itself at the end of World War I, an heir to the dismembered Ottoman Empire. "The sick man of Europe," somewhat like Japan, realized that the way to survival depended on a quick and wholesale transplantation of the Western institutions that made its challengers so powerful. Kemal and his followers used education toward that end. The student will look for political themes in education by studying the men who seized the machinery of state and have sought to make it centrally strong. Though ultimately they hope to introduce democracy, their early program was based upon one-man government conceived as a prime mover of progress. The political hold over schools seemed to guarantee reform. Education no less than other social agencies was to serve as a blueprint for national revitalization.

Economic Aspects. The student will study the three themes of Turkish reform—a breach with the past, a speedy overcoming of educational deficiencies, and westernization. These objectives made Turkish education in the '20s and '30s largely a breakthrough economic operation. The major outlines of the reform program will have to be examined for their economic significance: the adoption of the French and other models of education organization and administration; complete secularization of instruction; progressive reform of the curriculum following the personal advice of John Dewey; transliteration of the Arabic alphabet and translation only of selected classics in the new version of the script. These were once considered to be the keys to economic development. Economic

circumstances will also be found to have obstructed the progress of reform. Because of the inadequacies of staff, equipment, and funds, the task of reform had to be broken up into two separate categories, urban and rural. As far as the city schools were concerned, progress was rapid, at least as regards the construction of school buildings and the provision of a certified and competent teaching staff. But in the country makeshift measures had to be employed, especially in the remote parts, until roads could be constructed, schools built, and teachers provided. Some of these measures included temporary certification of wealthy farmers to hold literacy courses on their farms, extension of the compulsory attendance laws on a part-time basis to enable children working in the fields to complete their requirements, army literacy courses for recruits, assignment of military personnel to teach in villages, and a network of agricultural institutes to improve the quality of the economic life of the countryside.

Social Aspects. The student will now turn to a study of the social forces in Turkey. He will survey the clash between the vigorous actions of the Turkish reformers to modernize their educational system and the invincible undercurrents of conservatism. On one side, the economic development was pitted against the fatalistic philosophy of the Turkish peasants who tended—and tend—to view formal schooling as an unnecessary luxury. On the other hand, the lively programs devised for the schools have with time exhibited the same calcification as the one from which they originally sought to escape. Charges of conservatism sound strange when applied to progressive educational inheritance, yet they tally with what the student knows about the evolution of progressive ideas in American education and elsewhere.

This basic conflict will then have to be set in context in the current scene. Efforts to remedy the growing failures of the schools came to a head in 1948. Reforms were initiated to simplify the curricula in all types of schools, including the *lycées*, by a condensation of nonessential subjects; to expand the time allotted to practical skills; to extend the *lycées* to four years but to reduce the years of compulsory attendance from seven to six; and finally, to introduce a study of civics. To these proposals was added one that will startle the student as an example of the resilience of conservatism—the reintroduction of religious teaching in primary schools and the rendering of such instruction optional in secondary schools. This restoration of Moslem teaching is one of the most striking proofs of the impossibility of legislating radical social or organizational

change without reference to the traditions, habits, and desires of the people whom the schools are to serve. The student will conclude that there is at least a strong possibility that new extensive reforms discussed now by Gursel's government will meet a similar fate unless cautiously and gradually enacted.

JUXTAPOSITION

In approaching this stage the first procedure is to focus upon the common comparative framework in which analysis can be made. The account for each country will then have to be adapted to fit the central framework. At this stage, each country remains "juxtaposed," or written up separately. Direct comparisons are limited to the introduction and conclusion. Later, the space allotted to these comparative parts can be steadily expanded to ensure an easier transition to comparison. The shift from the treatment of a single country to a simultaneous comparison of several gives the greatest difficulty to researchers who are not trained to pass from one to the other. Double column tabulations, as demonstrated by Chauncey and others, greatly facilitate the process.⁴ The juxtaposition ends with the formulation of the hypothesis stating the purpose for which comparison is to be made. This hypothesis will have to be proved by the analysis in the final comparison. Juxtaposition is the newest and the least well-worked-out stage of comparative procedures.

School Reforms in France and Turkey⁵

The student will first note that countries that have a decentralized school administration are faced with educational problems that resist a quick solution; such nations often ask themselves whether educational reform could be accomplished more successfully if it were supported by the central enforcement machinery of a powerful government. The student will reflect whether France and Turkey are good comparative examples to illustrate the mechanics of such enforcement and the many problems attendant upon them. He will note that France is a country in which a project of reform is straining to wrest a conservative school system from its foundations; and Turkey, a country in which wholesale reform, having swept away the old order, is attempting (so far with checkered success) to stabilize the achievement it has won. France and Turkey can be selected for comparison because in addition to a common reform theme they share much of the common French educational heritage, one as the

country of origin, the other, by transplantation; further, both favor in education the pattern of centralized administration and central enforcement of reforms in preference to the piecemeal transformation that dominates the practice of the United States and England (and, to an extent, even the Soviet Union). France and Turkey are thus "comparable" even in the strictest sense as advocated by Hans⁶ and more recently by Foster.⁷

Having established initial comparability of the two case studies the student will again review his material for each country. His aim will be to list, side by side, the data he has processed to look for similarities and differences, to lead to a formulation of a hypothesis preparatory to final comparison.

The student will note that France finds the enactment of reforms difficult even though it has one of the most centralized school administrations in the world. Between 1947 and 1958, France was the scene of a continuous effort to remodel the old school system. The proposed reforms pushed through by Berthoin attempted a radical democratization of education. They envisaged the rebuilding and extension of secondary education, specifically its conversion into a comprehensive type at the junior secondary level. The proposals included an extension of compulsory education to the age of 16, a creation of a *cycle d'orientation* common to all children 11-13, and the raising of the status of the technical diploma to equivalence with the classical *baccalauréat*. They also included changes of profound curricular significance. The dreaded *examen de sixième* was to be moved to the age of 13. The course in senior secondary schools was to have liberal, vocational, and general alternatives, with the possibility of pupils transferring from one to the others. The liberal stream itself was to preserve and expand the present classical, humanist, pure scientific, and technical scientific elective choices. Broader social opportunities, a lighter study load, and greater practicality were the major objectives of the proposed reforms.

The student will note that when these far-reaching proposals for French school reorganization were passed by the National Assembly there was a well-merited sense of final accomplishment. But the *Lois Debré* of 1959 caused the church-state issues to flare up anew. Five years later the hopes that the spirit of the new legislation would be successfully applied were less sanguine in view of the deeply ingrained traditions of selective scholarship in French education. Rapid expansion of enrollment seems more successful in transforming the French school system than legal reorganization.

France is an example among Western democracies of a country that enacts reforms by legislative *fiat* and then tries to implement them centrally. The student will note, however, that only certain partial reforms have forced their way into the system. The technical *baccalauréat* has been introduced by law, but it remain for it to prove itself in practice. Children under 11 years of age have been, at least on paper, freed from homework. Teacher training has been considerably streamlined and rendered more professional and less onerous. The future of wholesale reform might perhaps be best predicated from the fate of the newer educational movements, inherited from the *école unique* tradition. The experiment of the *classes nouvelles*, introduced in 1945, was greeted by many with tremendous enthusiasm as a forerunner of more progressive methods in a system in which formalism is deeply revered. Between 1946 and 1962 the number of *classes nouvelles* increased from two hundred to some one thousand. In 1952 these classes were drastically cut in number and renamed "pilot classes." Where they exist they continue to be vehicles of *avant-garde* thinking in curricular reform, but their mass application in French schools is very slow. What has replaced them is so far also piecemeal. Not until September 1961, three years after the enactment of the reform, were the first *sixièmes* introduced that did not require training in Latin.

The student has now identified France as a model of educational centralization, yet powerless to bring about full-scale reform, due not only to the conservatism of its bureaucracy but also to the nature of its political system and social climate. He will think of how best to contrast and compare the fate of the French reforms with what happened in Turkey. Turkish reforms were also enacted within the framework of a centralized educational administration; furthermore, they were forced through by a vigorous political machine and with a militantly modern outlook. There seemed nothing to prevent the effective implementation of the new proposals.

The student will review the record of Turkey with these issues in mind. The Turkish reforms were among the most drastic and most successfully conceived. When the old Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Roman, all books were withdrawn from the schools and only those judged suitable to the new national aspirations were reissued in the new script. Secondly, Islam, which is deeply imbued with a spirit of contemplation and personal resignation, was completely removed from the schools as a corollary to the famous proscription of the veil and the fez. Finally, the curricula of the primary schools were thoroughly reorganized

and those of the secondary schools powerfully affected by the progressive tendencies. Later, the use of progressive methods was made compulsory by decree.

A quarter of a century has now passed since these reforms were first conceived and energetically applied. They have contributed to the astounding success of Turkey in its new role as a Western country. But the achievements of Turkish education have been largely structural, not curricular. A brief review of what happened to the content of education will substantiate this conclusion.

In the sphere of school building, the reduction of illiteracy, the ingenious provision of rural adult education, the Turkish achievements are impressive by any standard. But the curricular reforms have not met with similar success. The change of alphabet affected significantly and positively the importance of the Turkish language as a national medium and greatly diminished the time necessary to attain literacy. In spite of this bonus, the literacy rate continues to rise disappointingly slowly. In addition, the reform cut off the new school generations from the untranslated fountain-heads of ancient Arabic tradition, a situation that has now been publicly deplored. In the field of religion also, the severe restrictions that extended to the prohibition of clerical garb outside of churches, which applied to priests of all denominations, enabled the new state to fight off the conservative elements that would have hindered westernization. But the loss of religion in the upbringing of children is now felt deeply, and from 1950 a curtailed form of religious teaching has been reintroduced into the schools. As with the religious legislation, so also the enactment of a progressive curriculum led to difficulties. On this point, Abdul Sassani wrote in an article in *School and Society*:

The main criticism is that an unimaginative education system, ordered and applied with rigid uniformity by the government, destroys all creative spirit and initiative in the teaching staff, blocks all roads to the formation of individualists, is devoid of originality, and discourages independent reasoning power.⁸

Such a criticism rings strangely when applied to a legacy from Dewey. It suggests that educational reforms are difficult to enforce in both Turkey and France, even when backed by a strong central executive.

The student will note that his data furnish two variant situations illustrating the same principle. In the old French system new reforms are hard to realize. In the "new French" (the Turkish system), "old" re-

forms are hard to preserve. *The strong executive in both countries does not guarantee rapid progress; in fact the conservatism of the respective bureaucracies acts as a break upon too rapid changes.* The student will conclude that he has a hypothesis for "simultaneous comparison." The properly processed materials should enable him to formulate valid comparative generalizations to prove it.

COMPARISON

Final comparison now follows from and for the hypothesis already formulated. The separate accounts for each country will now be rewritten as a joint report. A reference to one country must elicit an instantaneous comparison to the other (or several others). Sometimes references to alternate countries occur every other sentence, sometimes only every other paragraph or every other page. But some system of continued alternation is basic to simultaneous comparison. It is this alternation that puts in clear relief the comparative features of the systems under study.⁹

Insofar as one is justified in setting down a rule of thumb, the previous three steps of analysis are what the researcher should do *for his own benefit*; the following step should be used as material *for publication purposes*. Needless to say, the pedagogical and general information already presented would be interwoven, in a full report, into the analysis. To avoid repetition in what follows, such information has been limited. Chapters 3 to 6 represent what this writer considers to be a better balance between descriptions of pedagogical facts and explanatory and comparative analysis of their significance.

School Reforms in France and Turkey

Among many ways to test the efficacy of the reform plans in education, a place must be reserved for the lessons afforded by world comparisons. A juxtaposition of the French and Turkish school experiences offers an opportunity to trace two variants of the contest between reforming authorities and old educational traditions.

The history of education, as also of all other social institutions, is marked by attempts at quick reform. Over and over again groups anxious to make fast improvements are angered by the conservatism and inertia of the established social order. The reformers band together to wipe out the old and to start anew. They erect impressive administrative machineries to support them. And yet, over and over again, many such im-

patient attempts are frustrated. There is reason to believe that educational revolutions, in spite of the ideals they profess and the radical means they use, end up only as evolutions. Proofs of this view can be sought in philosophy, in social sciences, and in history. They are also confirmed by the evidence afforded by comparative educational analysis.

The history of a quarter of a century of reforms of French and Turkish education supplies a good illustration for this view. Both countries inherited from the past educational systems that, in spite of the intrinsic merits they possessed, were inconsistent with the new aims and modern needs of their peoples. Both countries attempted to legislate necessary changes, thoroughgoing in concept and centrally enforced. Both France and Turkey are discovering that such action is not entirely effective, and both are forced to seek less radical means, more patiently conceived and more cautiously applied.

This similarity in circumstances is not, however, without its differences. The democratization of education is the dominant theme of reforms in France and Turkey today. The profile of the French schools has been in some respects copied by Turkey. But the state of education in the two countries belongs essentially to two different periods. The French are striving to adapt further a model evolved along a continuum of some one hundred years. The Turkish Republic, established only in 1923, is facing the first stage of expansion. The French, living in a country of abundance, are now confronted with problems in the secondary field, having long ago won the battle of primary education. The Turks must cope with the problems of an underdeveloped country—not so much with the swelling of the white collar ambitions as with illiteracy and ignorance, not with questions of high level industrial skills but with poverty and agricultural backwardness. The Turks have had to build a modern school system from the grass-roots. The educational facilities they established represented a pioneer charting of ways that was climaxed in 1948 by a new period of soul searching and reform. It is only this latest phase that begins to bear some resemblance to the French experience, since it partly shifted attention from junior primary to senior primary and secondary schools.

The two countries not only face different tasks but move at different speeds and use different methods. France prepares actual proposals of reform at an almost leisurely pace by way of much public discussion, soul searching, and experimentation. Turkey moves more rapidly ahead with less regard for the views of all parties. Before evolving the reform blueprints, France considers, applies on a pilot basis, and analyzes at such length as to be accused of sloth and apathy. Turkey acts drastically, largely

by copying and adopting without question the experiences of other nations.

Since the needs of the Turks are more urgent they are tempted to use more direct methods to solve their problems. Hence, though both countries attempt to enforce reforms by centralization in education, France seeks prior support for its actions in legislation, while the Turks rely more closely on purely administrative enforcement. The current French effort began in 1937 with *Projet Jean Zay*. After a series of proposals it culminated in the Berthoin law of 1958, a measure due to come into force within a decade. The present Turkish effort began in 1924 with the abolition of religious *madrasses* of the Ottoman empire. It ended in the Elementary School Law of 1960. Between 1924 and 1948, less than half a dozen reform laws were passed in France. In Turkey close to twenty direct ministerial decrees were responsible for new programs and building expansion.

The actions of the two nations are, thus, not identical. Not only does one deal with primary schools while the other reforms secondary but one moves at much faster speed than the other; one pioneers, the other copies; one legislates, the other decrees.

Yet this difference helps to establish in comparative perspective the opportunity for appraising the efficacy of educational reform plans. The fact that both systems are, as mentioned, offsprings of the same model and that they place control in centralized ministries of education, with power over curricula, building programs, and training, appointment, and promotion of teachers, ensures enough similarity to make divergences from the common root meaningful. We can observe an attempt at reform in two different operations, one on the primary, the other on the secondary, level. One is moving fast, the other, slowly; one is attempting legislation, the other, administrative action. We can test our case in two different sets of circumstances. The lesson from both is that the outcome of the actual school reform tends to disappoint the original high expectations of its proponents.

Details of reform plans need to be summarized only briefly. France is on the threshold of changes of school provisions for her 11-16 group. As regards younger pupils, *esprit primaire*, distinctly different from the intellectual commitment of the *lycée*, has often been decried, and the training of primary school teachers in the *écoles normales* continues, unlike in Germany and England, to be only at the secondary school level. But the French primary school, inherited from Napoleon, Guizot, and Ferry, already encompasses the whole 6-11 age group, and the program offered represents a fair balance between the old "solid" and the new "social"

subjects. The problem in French education is rather in the upper fringes of primary school, in the old general track of the *cours complémentaires*, and in the vocational track of the *centres d'apprentissage*. To the disposition and assignment of children to these schools is added an even greater issue of the justice of selection into the *lycées* and *collèges* of the university-bound minority. It is here that the original intellectual selection has, in fact, become socioeconomic; it is here, too, that flexibility, science training, and civic commitment are now held to be more important than the much-revered ritual of the subject lecture and *explication de texte*.

In Turkey the same type of problem is only now beginning to appear. The plan of 1949 recommended a simplification of the curricula in all schools including the *lycées*, more hours for practical and laboratory work, commercial skills, and lessons in civics. But underlying these problems in Turkey there are the old unrests and discontents, the lack of primary education for all, persisting illiteracy, the conservative impact of Islamic beliefs, the lack of training in agriculture and crafts, and the continued shortage of teachers. When added to a dangerous geographical position, and until recently the troubles of a democracy gone "one party," the Turkish problems are substantial. Possibly the new government will benefit the country the way France benefits from De Gaulle's firm direction.

The pattern of implementation is different in the two countries. In Turkey, in a series of brusque moves, attempts have been made to modernize by erasing the past and by expanding opportunity. In the fulfillment of these two aims the authorities did not hesitate to employ quite novel means. The bold abandonment of the old Arabic alphabet and the energetic measures to expand rural education even on a makeshift basis are two of the many examples of such action. In Turkey the administrative agency of education worked in unison with the government as an instrument of change. As a result there has arisen an adequate urban school system. But only a skeleton of a rural system intended to encompass all children has been achieved. There are physical limits beyond which the Turks, even though backed by centralized power, could not reach.

In France, unlike in Turkey, reform movements from the time of *Les Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle* were agitated for, outside the administrative agency. Eventually such policies caught the ear of the government and were or are being enacted. But to such measures the ministry of education and the school structure it governs is not usually an enthusiastic party. France is a spectacle of a not-always-willing executive agency forced to diffuse through a powerful central machine a not-always-welcome legislation. In spite of valiant efforts of reformers, the design of

a universal education for students until 16 years of age, unselected until 13, and topped by the great general and technical branches leading to the university, has as of now, even though voted into law, not too sanguine a chance of immediate total implementation. Probably some of the reforms will take root. Other parts of the plan will have to wait for a more opportune climate. With an unwilling executive in France, even more than with a willing executive in Turkey, the reform groups have difficulty in enforcing their legislation.

One of the indices of the relative impotence of the reformers is the church and state question. In Turkey as in France the neutralization of the power of the church in education has been one of the most cherished parts of the plan. In Turkey not only were the church schools confined to the mosques in 1924, men's fezzes and women's veils abolished, and all religious teaching forbidden in state schools but clergymen of all faiths were prohibited to wear their religious garb in the streets; government policy was one of total unfriendliness to religion. In France the animosities of the *laïques* against ultramontanism date from the Revolution and were fanned into flames by such events as the Dreyfus Affair and the dominance of the church during the Vichy regime. Thus although the church was permitted to operate schools in France, and although some 40 percent of the pupils attend them, the state schools are scrupulously secular and the church schools until recently were bereft of state aid. It was in the face of strong opposition, therefore, that (at the time the state school reforms were lagging) the church adherents forced through a law (1951) assigning state per capita grants to children attending Catholic schools. A further increase of state aid was forced through in the recent Debré Act of 1960 and caused the resignation of André Bulloche as minister of education. Even more spectacularly than the church in France, Islam has staged a comeback in Turkey. In 1949, the year in which new reform proposals were framed, the teaching of Islam was restored in elementary schools and was made optional in secondary schools.

The persistence of the old curriculum is also an index of the resilience of the traditional system. There are indications in France that the old is not likely to give way easily to the new. The new university entrance rules dispensing with the *baccalauréat*, for instance, seem to be as stiff as the old examination.¹⁰ The *classes nouvelles*, in spite of their success, were in 1958 confined to a few *lycées pilotes*; their lessons are slow to permeate the entire school system. Only in September 1961 was Latin taken out of the *sixième* in national schools. In Turkey, too, 25 years of reform produced expansion in a quantity of places but appear to have had little

effect on the quality of the programs. The push for a practical curriculum has resulted in many revisions of the offerings. But so far the Turkish schools have not proceeded beyond unified social studies and civics. Vocational and trade emphasis continues to be relegated to special schools. The program in science training is even said to be handicapped by an inadequate technical vocabulary.¹¹ In Turkey as in France evidence suggests that drastic reforms, even when centrally backed, achieve somewhat less than the hopes of their perpetrators.

Such is the record up to date of the efforts of France and Turkey. In both countries the wheels of educational progress move at best very slowly. What is planned as total reform results even under centralization in only partial achievement. Not even the strongest reform movement can fulfill all of its proposals. We are thrown back upon the old truth that it is not the intensity of pressure for change, but the type of people and the type of traditions they live in that matter. Changes in education, especially when suited to the tradition and temper of the people, occur continuously. But no country has the miraculous power to force the pace.

The illustrative part of the chapter ends here. To satisfy the proper standards of an academic analysis the argument dealing with the content and potentialities of French and Turkish reform would have to be vastly expanded and the focus resharpened. One would also need more proof than the case of France and Turkey alone to conclude firmly that reform in centralized systems is no less easy than in decentralized. But as a skeleton model of one design, one approach to comparative analysis, the scheme is self-evident. It is no more than an ordering, cataloguing scheme. It is precisely the simplicity of design that recommends the approach just illustrated as a method of training. It maps out the confines of the subject and brings clarity and continuity to the field, the vastness and irregularity of which have hitherto tended to confuse the newcomer. If instead of off-the-cuff comparisons, students of comparative education forced themselves first to tabulate pedagogical data for each country, then to interpret the data in the light of other social sciences, then to set them side by side to determine their comparability, and finally directly to compare them, they would reach what Franz Hilker urges as the ideal, "a clarity of personal grasp and an elevation from subjective understanding to objective precision."¹²



Part 2

Illustrations of Method



Chapter Three

Indoctrination and Schools in One Country

Poland

The first part of this book presented the preliminary discussion of the theory and methods of comparative education. The following four chapters illustrate final products of such comparisons. In a field where systematization is lacking, it is no presumption to present an attempt at theoretical systematization. But for the benefit of continuing skeptics, comparative educators might recall the visiting English philosopher who, after an obscure lecture at Harvard, was asked by a student what good he hoped to accomplish. He answered that he never intended to do any good, he hoped not to do much harm. A comparative "horizontal" perspective on schools, systematized for maximum efficiency, could hardly do much harm. We pass to the illustrations of such an analysis to see whether it might not do some good.

The task of Part II is to illustrate the methodological scheme set down in Part I. Each of the following chapters will treat a sample problem of importance in education: indoctrination, scientific potential, performance of teachers, and the agencies of curriculum control. Each chapter will successively increase from one to four the number of countries compared.

In Chapter 3, an area study of one nation, a simple two-way relation between pedagogy and political science is considered. The analysis deals with political indoctrination in education. In Chapter 4, the methodological difficulties are increased; two countries are compared and the

scientific potentialities of schools are probed consecutively by the resources of several social sciences. In addition to political science, sociology, economics, history, and other disciplines are used. Chapter 5 not only deals with three countries simultaneously but also illustrates a shift in the focus of analysis. The emphasis moves from geographical areas to social factors. The question hitherto posed was, How is the problem of indoctrination or scientific training solved in a given country? Chapters 5 and 6 ask, How does the experience of given countries illustrate the working of a given concept? The focus in Chapter 5 is on teacher quality, and educational data from different countries are rotated to test and illustrate the validity of the principles posited as essential to their high status. The same procedure is employed in Chapter 6 to study curriculum control this time, in four countries. When one of the countries to be compared is the country of the researcher, the United States, such inclusion, as will be demonstrated, creates methodological problems of its own.

The present chapter deals with one country, Poland. Its major purpose is to demonstrate the oldest theme in comparative education, how practices in the schools depend upon extraneous social factors. The treatment is not without comparative value. As will be shown, the dependence of the schools upon political circumstances is universal and of interest to the United States as well as to other countries. Poland is a case illustration of this theme. The major stress, however, is not on comparative lessons, but as is proper to area studies, on the functioning of the school within the social context. The analysis deals with the interrelation of two levels: good school programs on the one side and the effectiveness of political indoctrination on the other. After assembling relevant educational facts, a one-country analysis must be devoted to tracing the interdependence of factors such as these. Accordingly, the chapter examines the political scene (including the economic, cultural, and religious background) to see what influence it has upon the schools and, in turn, how the schools serve the fortunes of the political programs that education is expected to inculcate.

THE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

In 1957, *Seven Days in Poland*, an official Polish journal dedicated to spreading good will among Polish émigré groups, contained the following description of a Bim Bom pantomime show:

Take the famous balloon scene. A group of boys and girls play gaily with a little red balloon. They are joyful, they are happy. Suddenly

a solemn creature carrying a briefcase appears on the stage. He wants to crush the balloon underfoot. In the last moment he gives up this idea, but instead touches it with the burning cigarette end. The little balloon bursts—the end of gaiety, the end of play. But not the end of the scene. Lo, a cluster of young people appear in front of the curtain with burning cigarettes in hand. In the corner stands a girl who sells little balloons. Now, the group of youngsters, who were a moment ago deprived by someone of their fun, approach the girl and destroy all the balloons with their cigarettes. Not one word is uttered during this scene. And yet this pantomime has a deep meaning, it is a general symbol of the complicated political and psychological process of the recent years.²

As claimed, this little story does supply most of the clues to the problems of youth in Poland. It depicts the initial willingness of the young to experiment with the new order. It demonstrates the mistakes of officialdom, in theory infallible but in practice performing poorly its role of leadership. It shows the resulting reaction and disenchantment of youth. As such, the quotation introduces well the purpose of the present analysis—the appraisal of the ebbing fortunes of political indoctrination in Polish education.

All school systems indoctrinate politically, but the example of Poland is of a special order. Like the colonial systems and conquered countries, Poland, a Soviet satellite, must cope with an indoctrination imposed by a foreign power.³ Furthermore, the allegiance demanded was to Communist ideals, a stern and exacting doctrine of personal self-denial. This imposition was aimed at a people placed geographically at the crossroads of Europe and historically devoted to a staunch defense of exiguous and always-threatened national and cultural identity. In such circumstances the operation was bound to run into problems.

On the other side, it should be realized that the protection of the Soviet Union tendered for the forfeited freedom a measure of sorely missed geographical safety and political stability. It permitted Poles, bereft of this satisfaction since the eighteenth century, to engage once more, even though only on behalf of their eastern neighbor, in power politics. Profiting from Tsarist mistakes, the Russians permitted Polish culture to expand and flourish unhampered. Most important for this discussion, the new government saw to a steady and successful improvement of Polish schools. These factors, especially the rising effectiveness of the pedagogical process, might lead one to expect at least some successes in

political indoctrination. But in Poland one has a suspicion of a deviation from the expected. One cannot automatically assume that there is a correspondence between the steady advances of schools, even though supported by the rising fortunes of the whole Soviet orbit, and the success that one might expect in conquering the minds of an unconvinced people.

Should lack of such correspondence be found, it would raise an interesting problem not only for students of comparative education but now also for the public at large. In particular in the United States, which once again argues over the role of education as a guardian of national purposes, it is revealing to ask whether the causes of Communist failures in Poland depend mostly on what happens inside or outside the schools. Either there is something inherent in the state of education itself—its dynamism or lack of it, its modes of instruction, its faith or cynicism—that predisposes the youth favorably or unfavorably toward absorbing its offerings; or the schools merely reflect the industry or sloth, the optimism or pessimism that the youngsters bring with them from outside. The case of Communist education is too special to warrant generalizations applicable to ideologically freer and administratively less centralized systems. But, for what it is worth, the experience of Poland could raise the question whether the wider political considerations are not more important than the pedagogical caliber of schools in determining the final commitment of its pupils.

THE EDUCATIONAL SCENE

When after the flight of Minister Mikolajczyk in 1949 the Polish Workers Party took complete control of the country, its educational system along with other institutions was converted to the Soviet pattern. Before the war, as a result of the Jędrzejewicz reform of 1938, the Polish educational system consisted of a basic school of six years encompassing the majority of the 7–13 age group. The gymnasium and the *liceum* leading to the university catered to a small percentage of the 10–16 and 16–18 age groups respectively. A small percentage of the 13–16 age group was served by the vocational sector. A system of universities, polytechnics, and other higher schools capped the structure.

After the Communist takeover there began a conversion of this structure into the Soviet-type organization. The basic school remained intact, but an effort was made to get into it all pupils of the relevant age. The gymnasium and *liceum* remained only in name. The expansion of the intake and the reorganization of the curricula on the Soviet pattern began

instantly. The greatest change came at the vocational and higher levels. Here a professional school system was inaugurated to match the Soviet system of labor reserves and *tekhnikums*. At the higher level, a whole range of institutes of a special technical character was organized. Medical faculties, as in the Soviet Union, were detached from the universities to form institutes. Throughout this new structure curricular changes modeled on the Soviet were infused. Russian became a compulsory foreign language; Marxism-Leninism became a required subject for everyone at all universities. By 1950 there were few outward differences between the Polish and Soviet educational systems.

The quality of education in Poland continued on balance to be satisfactory. Communist education introduced the obvious restrictions in the field of history and literature. It filled the extracurricular time with the obligatory activities of youth organizations. It permeated the schools with militant political orthodoxy.⁴ But apart from these changes, the school offerings suggest a reasonable degree of vigor and high caliber. Whatever its shortcomings, Polish education on the whole has succeeded in combining the prewar scholarly traditions with the postwar dynamic expansionism.

Good or bad, scholarly traditions are now a matter of much disputed definitions. But if one sets a minimum for good scholarship by demanding that it satisfy at least two conditions—the avoidance of abrupt breaks in the continuity of the curriculum and a subject-oriented content—the present Polish program seems to satisfy both stipulations. In point of time it is only a dozen years away from the inauguration of the new regime and thus roughly parallels the stage of the Soviet system at the end of the 1920s. But the subsequent reversal of Soviet education to formalist traditions has enabled Poland to retain unbroken her own tight prewar patterns of instruction. In this sense the schools of Poland were off to a better start than their original Communist prototypes. Their names, years of training, and programs were changed in a piecemeal fashion to bring them into line with Soviet practices. War, revolts, defections, and discrimination deprived them of many men with good teaching potential. The mass admission of students of humbler origin must have forced the schools, in the initial stages at any rate, to popularize their offerings. But at least the methods and thus perhaps also the basic quality of instruction remained substantially unchanged. Official efforts to reduce the large numbers of grade repeaters and dropouts, some 10 percent of the school population, bear witness to the determination of all concerned to maintain high standards.

In all Polish schools curricula are organized as sequences of traditional subjects taught uniformly according to central directives. Even though they suffer under obvious political limitations, the humanities continue to enjoy an honored priority. One foreign language or Latin in addition to Russian is taught throughout two-thirds of the years of secondary schooling. At the same time the Soviet influence has placed an increasing emphasis on science offerings. At least five science subjects are now taught in all schools of eastern Europe. In Poland, in the mid-50s,⁵ Polish language and literature was taught throughout for five to eleven hours per week. Russian was given in the upper seven grades for three hours a week. A foreign language or Latin occupied two to three hours for eight years. In the field of science, mathematics was offered throughout for four to six hours; geography and biology for nine years at two to three hours each; physics for seven years at two to four hours; chemistry for four years at two hours; astronomy and geology in the uppermost grade for one to two hours each. With such concentration on subjects it is small wonder that, unlike the Soviet ten-year schools, which have been extended by one year since 1958, the academic secondary schools in Poland have always required eleven years of training.

No doubt a heavy traditional curriculum has led in practice to much dull memorization. It also necessitates methods of training that are strictly disciplinarian in character. An insistence on almost military obedience, placement of the responsibility upon parents for breaches of school discipline, pillorying of transgressors in school newspapers, study rooms for supervised homework, and threat of dismissal for slackness—this is the familiar mixture of traditional European and new Soviet sternness. But insofar as these features of instruction are regarded as shortcomings, they tend to be counterbalanced by the new corrective movement towards polytechnization. The search for the new way in education, which began in 1952 in the Soviet Union, has had its reverberations in the satellites. The general reform of Polish schools to bring them into line with the current Soviet reorganization is still in the initial stage. But small-scale corrective measures were earlier under way. Poland is using the autonomy won in 1956 to expand the offerings in Western languages and to follow less slavishly Soviet educational precedents. But it follows the lead of the Soviet Union in that efforts are being made to “free pupils from excessive work” and to restrict promotion by examinations, both of which factors have been blamed for “an atmosphere of nervousness” in the schools.⁶ Educational offerings thus seem to be characterized not only by adherence to subject matter but also by watchfulness over the perennial tendency of such methods of instruction to become too rigid. Nobody can vouch for

the effectiveness of an educational program after short visits to schools or by merely glancing at official tables of offerings, yet the impression of the content of Polish education is one of conservative solidity.

Contrary to some predictions, this solidity does not seem to have been significantly diluted by the mood of expansion. The extension of educational opportunities, the point of pride of the Communist program, has rather been accomplished together with upgrading of educational standards. Between 1930 and 1950 rough comparative figures indicate a drop in illiteracy in Poland from 25.3 to 10 percent.⁷ The upward expansion of compulsory education as yet has left untouched the quality of the work of senior secondary schools. This is partly due to the insistence on performance and discipline in schools and partly to the strenuous efforts to build up vocational schools, which now cater to roughly one-half of those who continue their education beyond the compulsory age. Chiefly responsible, however, is the fact that ambitions for mass education have made a very small impact at a secondary level. In Poland only some 10 percent of students continue beyond the legal leaving age of 13. Most of the available educational information is still derived from official communications,⁸ and Communist regimes yield precedence to none in the optimism with which they regard their own achievements. But even with that caution, one is left with a strong impression that the changes that have occurred have had very little negative impact upon traditional standards. The educational picture thus supplies no explanation for the dissatisfaction of youth.

EDUCATION AND THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

A recent joke has it that a foreign visitor in Poland before the mid-1950s asked and received permission to visit a prison. While there he came upon three political prisoners and asked them the cause of their arrest. The first answered: "I am here because I was against Gomulka." The second replied: "I am here because I was for Gomulka." The third said: "I am here because I am Gomulka." This little story, an illustration of the many political jokes of which people in Poland are so fond, supplies a clue to the attitude of disenchantment among youth. Their unrest is a result of the zigzags of official policy, exasperation with which spurred the revival of nationalistic and religious traditions. It is the twists and turns of the political situation as reflected in school teaching and not the educational context that have stirred discontent among young people.

At the time of the establishment of the Soviet-sponsored regime there was obviously little sympathy among young people for the changes then taking place. Most people, young and old, considered the arrival of

the Communists an imposition from without. In Poland, public indignation at the immorality of the Yalta agreement and at the Russian inaction during the Warsaw uprising was added to the bitter memories of the Russian partitions. The reception of the Russians, even though they posed as liberators, everywhere ranged from lukewarm to hostile.

But harassment, foreign occupation, and exploitation is an old story in eastern Europe. The tradition of dogged determination to hang on to national identity and native soil quickly developed as a protective countermeasure. Yet another bitter experience of defeat in World War II served to discredit the tradition of patriotic romanticism with which all national calamities were hitherto confronted. Clearly heroic underground military exploits were hardly calculated to ensure survival in the pedestrian and industrialized future. What was needed was realism and practicality. This mounting feeling of "realism" very quickly grew in education as elsewhere into the doctrine of accommodation to Communist government. It was useless to struggle without. One had to survive within. The foundations of acquiescence, greatly aided by methodical deportations of potentially dangerous people and by police surveillance over the rest, were thus firmly laid.

It is at this point that education became additionally important. Through schools another incentive was built into this readiness of public opinion to acquiesce. By promising educational opportunity the regime could elicit self-interest and thus secure the loyalty of the youth otherwise devoid of ideological enthusiasm. In a society formerly dominated by landowners or a gentry-descended intelligentsia, the new era meant the opening of new prospects to sons of the small middle class, to workers, and above all, to peasants, to whom previously only a few avenues of mobility had been available. The new state thus was able to create a class of loyal young people. Their personal good fortune depended completely upon the good fortune of the new society. Through expanding educational opportunities for the masses, the Communists made a bid for the political loyalties and for the economic dynamism of working-class and peasant youth, long famous for industry and perseverance and now aroused by the vision of advancement and prosperity.

This personal motivation was easily susceptible to conversion into full-fledged Socialist allegiance. The path from old patriotism to realism has, in fact, ended in the trap of a new patriotism. A system synonymous with good opportunities could obviously hope to be identified as a good system. At the close of the Stalin period, the chorus of voices pronouncing communism the salvation of the satellites was no longer merely a result of the political terror of the era. There was a tinge of spontaneity in the

numerous expressions of educational authorities and youth organizations.⁹ It was as if any belief was thought to be better than no belief at all. In the words of an acquaintance of this writer who returned to Poland voluntarily at that time, "communism is an inevitable fate of our age. It is marching triumphantly across the world. One cannot run away from it. Why not join it and grow strong through its strength?"

Thus the old romantic notions transcended realism in the form of an overriding new need to "believe." And it is the subsequent disappointment of this belief in the strength, virtue, and altruistic dedication of socialism that has paved the way to the return of the old type of nationalistic patriotism. It is perfectly natural that this reaction should be particularly marked in the schools. It is in the schools even more than in adult cultural life, which is never completely harnessed, that the highest ideals of Socialist life were enunciated. It is in schools that the adolescent would attempt to find guides to conduct in a perplexing world. The breakdown of values was most likely to register in the sensitive area of education. Nowhere else in the world and certainly not in Poland has general uneasiness ever failed to spark unrest among the students.

It is not difficult to perceive several symptoms of this *malaise*. At first, outright participation of youth in political anti-Communist and anti-Russian outbreaks filled a decade culminating in October 1957, when students of Warsaw Polytechnic protested against the suppression of the youth magazine *Po Prostu*.¹⁰ Its major 1956 landmark is too well known to need restatement. The fate of Hungary dampened a little the enthusiasm of the Polish "October Revolution," but the ferment continues under the surface. Even the powerfully influential space successes of the Soviet Union and American blunders such as the Cuban invasion have done little to curb it. The barring of educational opportunity to people of the wrong social class has always kept alive a hard core of political malcontents.¹¹ At the opposite pole the alienation of the most eager supporters through the unimaginative tasks of youth organizations has deprived the regime of effective young leadership. The average young man in between was awakened by de-Stalinization. Thus the youth of conviction lost interest and ceased to be a sure target of successful pro-Soviet persuasion.

Now that violent means of expressing dissatisfaction are no longer available, in contrast to the vigorous pursuit of nonpolitical goals, in politics a considerable section of youth displays little more than abandonment and cynicism. Inside the school buildings, owing to the operation of obvious totalitarian restraints, there is little opportunity to express political disaffection. Yet there is significance in the fact that unlike the

Soviet schools, Polish schools are curiously nonpolitical. Flags, busts of Lenin (or for that matter Gomulka), banners with slogans, political meetings are discreetly used or, as often as not, conspicuous by their absence. The old Boy Scout organization persists with no sign of conversion to the Soviet-type Pioneers. It would probably be unthinkable in a Communist school outside Poland to find the following item included in a test:

Test question 5, item 3, "Mietek":

Mietek said in class that in capitalist countries all children of the workers live in extreme poverty. He knew that this is not the case, but he hoped that this statement would earn him a better grade. Underline whether in your opinion Mietek did the following by lying: 1. very bad thing 2. bad thing 3. neither good nor bad 4. good.¹²

At a final examination in a secondary vocational school observed in 1959 there was subdued mirth among the students as one after another gave the "correct" answer to the question "Who was the earliest Socialist writer in Poland?" The person in question was Mikolaj Rej, a robust and earthy thirteenth-century nobleman who indeed, wrote a tract, *Rozprawa miedzy Panem, Wójtem i Plebanem* ("A Dispute between the Lord, the Village Reeve and the Curate"), in which he treated the social problems of the time.

The clearest signs of political disaffection among youth can be observed best outside the schools. Poland alone among the Communist countries is famous for the student barns where skits, much in the manner of Mort Sahl, rip to shreds the sacred cows of the culture. One such sample production told a story about Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz who miraculously survived the reshuffling of the October Revolution. When a foreign journalist told him, "Usually when the government changes, the prime minister also changes." "And you think that I did not change?" replied the unabashed minister. Another student production in 1959 bore as its title a succinct four letter word. For the space of two hours in various skits and tableaux this four letter word was pictorialized, accompanied by suitably foul language. The impression was one of total anarchy, utter hopelessness and moral decadence. Then in the last line the last actor on the stage revealed the hidden political point: "We, too, do not like the word, but if all you have is —, why make a philosophy out of it?" Such are the substitutes for the absence of political idealism

with which young Polish generations have grown accustomed to live during two centuries of the fight for national independence.

Political disappointments with the policies of the regime were, in a sense, economic disappointments too. It was economic hopes that kept Czeslaw Milosz's young men practicing so assiduously the arts of the Ketman.¹³ It was economic privation that drove the uprooted young peasants to delinquency. In 1957 *Polish Magazine* polled its readers on their life philosophy. In otherwise patriotic Poland, 425 out of 500 young people put forth economic answers to an invitation to make the "greatest" wish in their lives: 105 wanted improved standards of living, 67 opportunity to travel, 41 to obtain a profession, 41 to study, 39 to obtain an apartment.¹⁴ Another poll among youth in 1962¹⁵ revealed the following priorities in some 50 schools:

<i>Life's Goals</i>	<i>Answers in Percentages</i>
<i>Boys</i>	
Well-paid job	31.0
Happiness in marriage	30.5
Independence and material security	26.0
High position and success	21.0
Peace and respect	17.0
A post especially useful to society	7.7
Stability and understanding	6.7
Fortune	6.0
Others	6.0
Participation in political power	4.2
<i>Girls</i>	
Happiness in marriage	37.0
Independence and material security	33.0
Peace and respect	20.0
High position and success	19.0
A post especially useful to society	19.0
Stability and understanding	15.0
Well-paid job	12.0
Others	7.0
Participation in political power	2.0
Fortune	1.0

Note: Because of overlapping answers these percentages do not add up to 100%.

The promise of well-being at the end of the long road of transition to heavy industry does little to relieve the gnawing impatience with present privations. The dissatisfactions with stringent labor regulations, inadequate pay, and shortage of housing are particularly acute. Marek Hlasko, the now self-exiled exponent of the avant-garde, devoted his novel *Eighth Day of the Week* to the tale of young lovers victimized by the economy—unable, because of the lack of an apartment, to consummate their passion.¹⁶

The very moral unorthodoxy of the novel's theme demonstrates also the cultural directions into which youth, unable to express itself politically, has moved. Even by Western standards large segments of youth culture could be considered escapist. Drinking, romancing, and rollicking, though much deplored by the Polish press and much publicized in the West, is certainly less than in Western cultures but it stands out more against the somber design of Communist good behavior.¹⁷ More significant is the vigorous pursuit of abstract art quite out of keeping with the rest of the Communist world and at par if not ahead of the West. The postwar mood in abstract art is to take it entirely out of the realm of the tangible and to experiment with varying media in the world of fantasy. But underlying this is the tone of richness that comes from the continued attempt to dramatize the themes of the old folk art. The dedication to old peasant themes in art, poetry, and song, and the total veneration of old architecture is astounding. In a country starved for buildings, the Communist government itself restores and rebuilds with loving care old palaces and old churches. Before World War II very often the beautiful pure Gothic and Renaissance of historical buildings had been through the years built over by later architectural styles. Destroyed during the war, these buildings are now minutely reconstructed from prints and drawings to achieve the perfection of their original design.

At the end of the school year, as in the Soviet Union, a block of time is set aside for school excursions. While Soviet children use the time to visit collective farms, courts, and factories, Polish children visit old palaces, churches, and armories. As Poles themselves put it, "People who have no future must dwell in their past." And when history fails to supply the solace, fiction or outright abnegation must move into the void. The glory of the past, an intense attachment to Polishness, and beyond it—a vacuum, the vain spurts of the spirit in space; such is the state of the wounded soul of the Polish people.

Amidst such disenchantments those Poles who have faith cling to the Catholic Church. Traditionally Poland was the refuge of western Protestantism. Historically hospitable to Jews, it became their second

home. Sobered by wartime Jewish martyrdom out of vicious prewar anti-Semitism, the Poles have once more extended protection to the survivors of Auschwitz and Belsen. Indeed, the Polish government permitted emigration to Israel earlier than to other countries. Israel became an escape route also for Polish gentiles anxious to leave their communized homeland. This tradition of tolerance coexists with fierce attachment to Catholicism, the religion of the majority. In Tsarist days, when the use of Polish was forbidden on the streets, in schools, and in public places, the churches were the sole refuge in which Polish songs could be sung. The church is thus more than a place of worship; as in Ireland, it is a symbol of national identity. "Poland is not yet lost so long as we live" runs the first stanza of the national anthem sung first not in our time but in 1795 when Polish legions were forming in Italy to march with Napoleon against the partition powers. The church is the bastion of *Polonia irredenta* and all attempts to dislodge it have failed.

The insistence on the teaching of religion in schools thus needs no apology to Poles. While the Russian schools remain militantly atheistic, the situation in Poland has an originality and significance of its own. The Polish Communists are in the unusual situation of having to allow the existence of private Catholic schools, including the University of Lublin, the only Catholic college in the Communist world. Until recently Polish state schools offered noncompulsory instruction in religion in two weekly sessions. Anywhere in Poland, one could get off the beaten tracks and enter a village school to find tight ranks of children instructed in religion by the local parish catechist. Meanwhile the government, originally through a special "Society of the Friends of Children," and later directly, was forced to maintain separate secular schools dedicated to atheism.

This is an almost incredible concession and one that is not given lightly. In October 1957, Gomulka complained that the situation in Poland differed not only from that of other Socialist states but also from such countries as France and the United States. He warned the church to realize that a new state had been built in Poland and that church privileges should not be taken as license to disregard this fact. Henceforth there has been a steady deterioration of church-state relations, with the government attempting to control church funds, insisting on censorship of sermons and publications, and finally banishing altogether the teaching of religion in schools. But the disparity between the Communists' wishes and the resilience of their adversaries can be seen from Cardinal Wyszynski's 1957 Christmas message to Poles in America:

Faithful to the Cross and the Evangely, faithful to the Fatherland, we endure in fraternal love, we endure amidst suffering and toil. We believe that the face of the Polish soil, our cities and fields by the Vistula, Oder and the Baltic, will be reborn out of our sacrificial labors.

The hold of religion upon the schools has obviously patriotic overtones.

It is remarkable that religious indoctrination in schools is so strongly and successfully entrenched while political indoctrination falters even though the general educational progress in Poland stands out to advantage among the many less successful areas of the Communist program. That this is due to the weakness of government-inspired pleas for dedication seems to be an inescapable conclusion. An expansion of educational opportunity and maintenance of the prewar educational quality are not enough when youth is led to feel politically unsettled. Obviously the schools in a Communist country as elsewhere act merely as intermediaries. Their role is more one of prevention than of cure. The Communist reversals seem to be due not to the nature of school instruction but to the failure of the regime to live up to its theoretical ideals and to the persistence of religious and national traditions. The schools render the contrasts obvious and reflect the tensions thus aroused. But the pedagogical scene can only register the extent, rather than account for the causes, of the present setbacks of Sovietization.

One must not forget, however, that the story is only half told. Communist regimes seem to be better able than democratic governments to learn from their past mistakes. The blatant enforcement of aggressive indoctrination may be the very reason for its failure. Profiting from this lesson, the teaching of communism in the schools once more is being reconsidered. Already the state agencies are working to increase the areas of their successes. They continue to press for expanded range of education. They watch over the quality of teaching against the excesses of theory and practice. They build schools and playgrounds and palaces of culture. They encourage the flow of cultural exchanges with Poland's eastern neighbors and they have laid the groundwork for cultural exchanges with western nations. At the same time they have cut their losses and are trying to correct their shortcomings. They have relented somewhat on the unconquerable question of religion. They have given up the thought of wholesale collectivization. They have cut down the more brazen-faced aspects of political teaching. To make their program less objectionable, they have shifted more towards nationalism.

The result is already a partial recovery. Certainly, the cause of freedom has received new setbacks since the 1956 revolt. Only time can tell whether what has happened under de-Stalinization will produce lasting relaxations. And at least part of these may be due to the general easing of conditions in the whole Soviet orbit rather than to the reaction against Communist domination. Such reaction must also be tempered by the obvious successes of Soviet-type education in really advancing knowledge and in providing opportunity in nonpolitical fields. Only by keeping in mind such cautions for the future can past Communist educational attempts and failures be properly assessed. As the schools become more effective vocationally and less constrictive politically, the potential chances of their acceptance by the now defiant Polish youth may increase correspondingly. Time is working for rather than against the system, if only because what is indoctrination today becomes tradition tomorrow.

Chapter Four

Scientific Potential in Two Countries

The United States and the USSR'

In this chapter we pass from an area study of one country to a comparison of two countries. The following analysis will demonstrate a full-scale comparison. The approach henceforth will be to handle simultaneously materials from more than one school system.

Two further methodological points will be stressed. First, this chapter continues one of the themes of the preceding. Its aim, too, is to illustrate "interpretation," the second step of comparative analysis, the application to pedagogical evidence of the focus of several social sciences in rotation. Chapter 3 was devoted to an explanation of a *two-way* relationship between factors of *political* importance and the purely *educational* data. Now an attempt will be made to work out more fully the "rosette," the pursuit of comparison first by means of data from education, then, one-by-one, by means of an approach through sociology, economics, political science, history, and other disciplines.

The second methodological problem in this chapter arises from the introduction into comparison of the home country of the researcher. The difficulties of this process have not been adequately accounted for in comparative education. It raises a technical problem, first of all. The space allotted to the description and analysis of the home country should be equal to the space devoted to the analysis of the foreign partner. But in the present chapter, the discussion of American education is not matched for length or content with the discussion of Soviet education, thus tech-

nically throwing the comparison out of balance. The present discussion demonstrates the type of treatment that a young student might engage in at an early stage of training when he compares his first foreign area of specialization with his own country, the familiarity with which makes restatement of data unnecessary. In Chapter 6, where several foreign countries will be compared simultaneously, an attempt will be made to present the other pattern of comparison, in which evidence from all areas, including *die Heimat*, will be more specifically balanced for content and even length of presentation. Here evidence concerning American schools is often only implicit. Symmetry and balance are sacrificed to narrower experimentation with the actual process of the two-country comparison.

Furthermore, an involvement of American schools in the comparison raises the question as to whether comparative education should be moralistic or dispassionately analytical in content. In this chapter, for the sake of a fuller illustration of the range of methods available, the moralistic treatment has been chosen. As mentioned in Chapter 1, most contemporary theoreticians of the field maintain that the value of comparative analysis is diminished when it allows itself to indulge in exhortations. The present trends, well summarized, for example, by Andreas Kazamias,² are toward empirical and analytical studies, leaving the results of such studies to philosophers to moralize about. Yet (as we shall see in Chapter 9), even the most objectively designed writings cannot be entirely free from personal biases and hence moralistic intent. The unanswered question is whether it is not futile to conceal them under professions of objectivity. In any case, moralistic writings, a feature of the second historical period of comparative education, the period of predication, persist today. The analysis in this chapter attempts to give flavor of this type of procedure in comparative education.

The general pattern of inclusion of the home country in this book consists of two cycles. American education was excluded in Chapter 3, but is included in the present chapter. It will again be excluded in Chapter 6, in which the switch from focusing on countries to focusing on comparative factors is made; it will be once more included in the final comparative example in Chapter 7. In Chapter 3, which demonstrated the conventional area approach, American education did not enter into the analysis except as a very general beneficiary of the conclusions to be derived from the study of schools and politics in Poland. In Chapter 5 American problems will again be excluded except for a brief mention by way of general orientation to the patterns of teacher training. In Chapter 6, the American system will be included equally with other countries as one

of the comparative models of curriculum control; in that chapter there is less attempt to argue directly what policy the United States should pursue as a result of the lessons afforded by the comparative evidence. By contrast, in the present chapter American schools are compared for an explicitly exhortatory purpose. The theme of this chapter is, What can one learn about the policy to be pursued in American education from the observation of the attempts of the Soviet schools to solve similar problems?

THE PROBLEM OF SCIENTIFIC POTENTIAL

"When the war was over . . .," remarked Nikita Khrushchev on December 6, 1955, in a speech at Rangoon University,

I, a former miner, entered a workers' faculty. At the time I was not so young as you who are now sitting in front of me. I was already 27. We studied diligently, doing our best to acquire sound knowledge. That was what the great Lenin urged us to do. . . . And now public education in our country is so widespread that there are literally tens of millions of people studying. The establishments of higher education alone have an enrollment of well over one million. . . . In the course of a mere 38 years of Soviet power, our country—the one time backward Russia—has become a country where there is no illiteracy. Every year the Soviet Union's higher educational institutions train many more engineers, agronomists, and other specialists than does the United States of America.³

This proud boast, so characteristic of the Russians in general and Khrushchev in particular, has been in recent years echoed all over the free world. In 1947 in England, Sir Eric Ashby's book *Scientists in Russia* pointed to the impending era of Soviet expansion in scientific manpower.⁴ In 1956 in the United States Nicholas DeWitt's *Soviet Professional Manpower* supplied credible statistics to show that this era is almost upon us.⁵ Since 1958 the Soviet school system went through a reorganization that seemed at times a direct reversal of its basic educational policies. Actually the Russian emphasis on science has not subsided. DeWitt's *Education and Professional Employment in the Soviet Union*, published in 1962, supplies further incontestable data on the Soviet commitment to science.⁶ The continued Russian successes in space have dramatized this commitment across the globe.

This situation has had a not altogether unexpected effect. It prompted many people to review with anxiety the effectiveness of free Western schools as compared with their state-controlled Soviet competitors. In the United States the comparison resulted in a dissatisfaction with the public schools and their staffs and in a wave of criticism of educational programs that, in their concern for the needs of all pupils, have abandoned the formalistic, disciplinarian, subject-centered type of instruction. Educators responsible for progressive programs have been attacked because they carried their notions of "soft pedagogy" to an extreme. It is claimed that nothing but a complete reversal to "hard pedagogy" can supply the United States with an adequate science potential.

But to urge the need for increased scientific manpower is one thing; to blame particular school programs for not having supplied it already is quite another. The latter judgment involves a comparison of two school systems, and such a comparison cannot be meaningful if one merely glances at the respective statistics and curricula. To do so is to ignore the methods of comparative education which postulate the inadequacy of a mere comparison of educational data. One needs, of course, to compare educational information, but over and above, one needs to apply to the comparison the educationally relevant insights from other social disciplines. To understand the role of the educational system one must interpret its foundations in society. Neither fair judgment nor a legitimate guide to the direction that the American schools are to take can be derived from Soviet examples until a careful comparison not only of schools but also of other circumstances has been cautiously attempted. By first examining the relevant educational circumstances and then placing them in the social setting outside of which they cannot be adequately appraised, this analysis will not only illustrate the methods of comparative education but will also point out how misleading must be the comparisons that presume to ignore it.

Educational Analysis. If one attempts to examine only the bare facts of education, there is no question that in comparison with the American educational program the Soviet emphasis on science might be interpreted as more substantial. For over a decade publications attesting to this judgment have been abundantly available. For example, William Johnson in *Russia's Educational Heritage* points out that the Soviet school practice has been largely dominated by the Tsarist, elitist, and solidly conservative academic traditions.⁷ Ruth Widmayer, in an article in the *Harvard Educational Review*, summarizing her Harvard doctoral dissertation, described

the retreat of the Soviet school to formalization after the complex themes of the progressive twenties.⁸ Alexander Korol has assembled impressive documentation on the strength of the senior secondary and higher education programs.⁹ George Counts has stressed in several books the monolithic ideological atmosphere in which the Soviet children are raised.¹⁰ The latest books by DeWitt,¹¹ by this writer and associates,¹² and by Arther Trace¹³ have concentrated in detail on the situation during and after the 1958 reform and have found little ground for censuring the Soviet system for failing to strive for high standards. Soviet sources, of course, uniformly stress that Soviet education is a well-rounded, exacting public service offering the student both cultural enlightenment and social opportunity.¹⁴

The Soviet system thus has established opportune conditions for taking its youth wherever it wants to take them. The combination of tradition, ideology, subject matter, and the promise of a career operates as a severe brake upon the normal exuberance and indecision of the young. The requirements of the Soviet economy result in a heavy emphasis on technological training. In the Soviet schools humanities and social studies occupy as of now some 40 percent of the program. With less than 10 percent of school time allowed for physical education and related subjects, and with the curtailment of Marxian teaching in accordance with recent shifts, science training occupies the chief place in the curriculum. Soviet students now take six years of physics, five of biology, and eleven of mathematics, including algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. Luigi Volpicelli in *Storia della Scuola Sovietica* was one of the first to cite Soviet authorities in order to caution that the science program of the Soviet school is too theoretical and that a great number of teachers are poorly prepared to guide their students effectively.¹⁵ But recent reforms show that Soviet authorities are making extensive efforts to correct this situation. Current travelers testify uniformly, even though they still tend to gravitate to the cities, that they were given leave to observe what they wanted, and that they have found teachers and pupils serious, dedicated, and well equipped in science materials and laboratories.

This picture seems quite superior to the corresponding American scene. Countless writers have commented on the shortage of qualified science teachers, the inadequate investment in the study of high school science, and improper career guidance by the schools. The difficulties in raising funds for schools to cope with the growing school population are notorious. Scholarship provisions, generous for the outstanding, are practically nonexistent for the less able, yet these students too, are vital to

the total supply of scientific manpower. Specific technical training is so scant that most industries must run their own training schools, thus by far overshadowing the training provided in formal education.¹⁶ Generally, standards of science training are not of the highest and instruction fails to keep in step with the latest advances.

Soviet strength is reflected also in the comparative figures of the output of scientists. A great many figures have been bandied about, some of them of dubious quality. Fortunately DeWitt's data in *Soviet Professional Manpower* and its follow-up volume give an extensive and reliable digest of Soviet educational statistics. For our purpose it is sufficient to quote the summary of his earlier study:

Higher education is undoubtedly more accessible in the United States than in the Soviet Union. In 1953 the United States had about 5,800,000 persons with completed higher education. . . . The Soviet Union had roughly two million persons. . . . However, in applied scientific fields—such as engineering, agriculture, medicine—the number of Soviet professionals . . . was about equal or somewhat above the number . . . in the United States.

Continuing DeWitt's findings, in 1953 against 500,000 Soviet engineers, the United States had 530,000; against 280,000 Soviet physicians, the United States had 195,000; against 20,000 Soviet dentists, the United States had 90,000; against 90,000 Soviet college teachers, the United States had 210,000; against two million Soviet teachers, the United States had 1,400,000. This is an impressive record, even though, throughout, the figures tip sometimes one way and sometimes the other. Annual losses of personnel in the USSR are smaller than in the United States, and the Soviet yearly increase in the number of technical personnel is larger. The total professional yearly additions, however, are still larger in the United States. In a perfectly balanced conclusion, DeWitt sums up his findings:

During the last two and a half decades the Soviet Union has made enormous strides towards building up its specialized manpower resources. As a result of its efforts, it has reached a position of close equivalence with or even slight numerical supremacy over the United States as far as supply of trained manpower is concerned. The Soviet effort continues. Our own policies in the field of education and in regard to specialized manpower resources will decide whether within the next decade or so the scales will be tipped off balance.¹⁷

By way of qualification, it must be remembered that the figures for the USSR are taken from Soviet sources, which do not always parallel Western statistics. For example, figures for students taking extension courses in the USSR are included in the total of university students. Many other figures in DeWitt's books, in spite of his careful checking, are estimates derived from incomplete statistics. A variety of statistical sources released by the Soviet Union since 1956 will eventually improve our over-all knowledge of Soviet operations. But at present the record is spotty and many predictions are made only by inference.

But these qualifications notwithstanding, it must be concluded in justice that the Soviet Union, by its endeavors, has raised itself to the level of its potential in half the time that it took the United States. It is also obvious that the system is well capable of offering further competitive challenges in the future. The examination of the subject matter and graduate output alone supports the view that the Soviet educational system as a whole is impressive. If at present it is not superior to the American, its future potentialities are as good or greater.

Here purely educational comparison ends. But the methods of comparative education cannot be satisfied merely with educational data. One must turn for further light to related social sciences. The task of comparative education is to discover whether the noneducational circumstances make the educational picture count. Thus several further qualifications must be added to the discussion of Soviet education.

The Relevance of Sociology. So far the presentation and prognosis of the scientific developments in education disregarded completely the significance of selectivity. If the problem of the shortage of scientists were simply a matter of supply of fully-trained college graduates, and if the market for such graduates were to expand in keeping with the output, there would be no problem. In reality, however, social considerations and tensions significantly complicate the issue. The school, as Alex Inkeles has pointed out in a classic article on social mobility in the USSR, is almost the sole vehicle of social advancement.¹⁸ It combs the country thoroughly for the most outstanding talent available, thus arousing many hopes in those accepted (and engendering frustrations in those rejected). Those who get through the first four, and certainly the first eight, years of school expect to get through it all the way. But in fact, as DeWitt's figures point out, a stringent weeding out process occurs at every level. In 1954, less than 125 out of 1000 children who started in the ten-year program graduated from it.¹⁹ Promotions to higher grades and more

advanced types of schools are still regulated by severely competitive examinations. Admission to the universities is almost completely subject to them.

The Soviet system, though universalist at the base, does in fact sponsor a stringent form of intellectual elitism. Moreover, this elitism hitherto operated under the motto of "let best brains win." The connotation had in it an implication of social justice, and the flavor of best helping the Socialist construction. Recent evidence, however, points out that the system may be closing up. Robert Feldmesser first brought out the fact that the chances of acquiring social status in the Soviet Union continue to be correlated with the status of one's parents, even though education remains the sole channel of advancement.²⁰ Several other writers dramatized the emergence of the new class.²¹ It appears, according to Alex Inkeles and Peter Rossi, that even occupational distance in the Soviet Union is virtually identical with that of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, and Germany, in spite of significant cultural and social variations.²² For the first time in Soviet educational history there appear in school the children of intellectuals, with their superior culture and polish, superior income, snobbery in clothes, and a somewhat more cynical attitude towards the regime.²³ Before the war some 50 percent of university students were children of nonmanual workers who represented only 20 percent of the labor force. The recent reforms in higher education, as attested by Khrushchev himself, were caused by the persistent dominance of white collar children in the universities and the spread of white collar snobberies inconsistent with the spirit of the Communist society.²⁴

These circumstances are most significant for the future of the scientific supply. It is to be expected that, faced with the closing of the system, the less privileged, now alerted both to the cultural and the social value of education, will continue to demand a fair share of opportunity. At the same time, as the top level fills up more and more with the children of the elite, the regime will look to the masses less and less for its top-ranking scientists. Soviet authorities have been urging for some time a shift in emphasis in staffing not higher but lower technical levels.²⁵ Such change in direction has already forced the Soviet schools, somewhat as in the American pattern, to educate up to the age of 18 without the present college or semicollge orientation.

Movement in this direction has been evident for some time. The technical, vocational, and labor reserve branches of education have been expanding. In the general schools, polytechnical instruction has again reigned supreme since 1958; some advances toward more "applied"

instruction have been and are being made at all levels.²⁶ But the notions peculiar to the formalist systems of education, that education should lead to white collar jobs, die hard.

Instead of taking jobs right away, many (who fail to enter the university) are staying at home preparing to take entrance examinations to higher educational institutions the following year. The tradition among Soviet youth that those who have received a secondary education should not work with their hands persists. For example, of the 25,000 students graduating from Leningrad schools a year ago, only 400 were willing to take jobs in factories.²⁷

Refugee accounts are full of references of contempt for the "dirty work" and the growing social distinctions between the "cultured" and "educated" people and the "dark" and the "simple."

Thus the orderly production and integration of scientists in the Soviet economy may be seriously handicapped by overstaffing at the top, shortages at the bottom, and social unrest resulting from the situation. As Michael Young seems to be predicting, the Soviet Revolution, the last great revolt against plutocracy, may now be followed everywhere by a series of revolts against bureaucratic "meritocracy."²⁸ Somewhat sadly perhaps, but instructively, the American system is alone in being able to claim that it underproduces professionals. Since the high school diploma has been accepted in America as a prerequisite of all occupations, professional and manual alike, the social structure has managed to retain a high degree of fluidity, and anyone willing to make the intellectual effort in higher schools can freely reap the rewards of professional status in adult life. The scientific potential of the country must in some measure depend also on the social atmosphere of optimism that wide educational opportunities help to generate.

Economic Aspects. Economics supply other reasons why the emphasis on the figures of the output of scientists in the USSR must be qualified. To begin with, the figures do not take into account either the fact that the Soviet population and territory are larger than those of the United States or that consequently its scientific needs are greater. The recruitment of students from and for 170 million people in America cannot be expected to equal in numbers the recruitment catering to nearly 210 million people. Furthermore, as R. J. Havighurst has pointed out, figures should be quoted not as absolutes, but as indices of *effort*.

The effort of a nation in producing engineers, or any other type of persons, should be defined in relation to the number of young people who are in the basic manpower pool. In *effort* the U.S.A. is superior to the Soviet Union in the production of scientists and engineers. . . . In 1954, the U.S.A. produced 20 per 1,000 as compared with 17 per 1,000 in the Soviet Union, while in the 1946-50 period, the U.S.A. produced 26 per 1,000 compared with 11 per 1,000 in the Soviet Union. At the same time, the U.S.A. has been out-producing the Soviet Union in other fields of training, both in terms of effort and in terms of gross numbers.²⁹

The numbers and even the quality of Russian scientists must be set against the general background of the technological achievement of the United States and the USSR respectively. To build up a backward country requires a different kind of science force than is required to run a highly advanced society. To help itself the Soviet Union must make giant moves because its problems are tremendous.

The difference between the Soviet and the American challenge is like the difference between the tasks facing a builder on one side and a manager of an already completed building on the other. It is a time-honored European saying that America is a country of gadgets and gadget makers. The United States has not only generated a breathtaking wave of mechanization and automation but it has as a result raised a nation completely at home in the technical world. Average youngsters, not at all scientifically minded, putter happily with chemistry sets, radios, and salvaged automobile engines. The average American male is quite at home with intricate machinery, cars, power tools, lawn mowers, and refrigerators. During the war the GI astonished his allied counterpart by the facility with which he handled his complicated equipment. The identical equipment when supplied to less technically minded troops would refuse to function. The soldier of nontechnical countries will match the mechanized soldier in guerilla conditions when only bayonets and potatoes are available. This is one reason why the Russians were able to stop the Germans and why the Chinese scored in Korea. But against well-organized technical troops such a soldier is quite helpless. Nor can he be superior in peace, for example as a farmer, even though supplied by tractors. It is not an accident that the American farmer operates mechanical farm equipment himself, while in the Soviet Union the *kolkhoznik* and the tractorist are two different occupations. Better paid, until recently housed in motor transport stations from which he was hired out to *kolkhozes*, specially

trained, the Soviet tractorist must seem very "technical." Yet, though the tractor force of the Soviet Union has increased tremendously, according to Colin Clark's report, "even in the busiest season of the year, between fifty and eighty-five percent of them are not on duty but in the workshop" undergoing repairs. (Incidentally, the present tractor force is capable of performing the work equivalent of 19 million horses, while the decrease in the number of horses between 1928 and 1953 was 21 million.)³⁰ The Soviet Union is still weak in agriculture, livestock, housing, and consumer goods. Only heavy industry has expanded spectacularly, though Western estimates of it disagree substantially.

In view of the growing shortages of manpower and agricultural produce, no one knows whether the initial industrial rate of expansion can be maintained at the present level, even when supported by a drive for a large output of scientists. One would do well to visualize the average Soviet citizen raised in conditions in which he does not drive a car, does not tinker with refrigerators, does not tend to central heating. Even in great cities, from which we draw most of the photographs and descriptions of life in the USSR, this statement is not untrue. No matter how large the rate of present industrialization, it would seem that it fails by a large margin to saturate the country and to impress upon it the stamp of a technological way of life. Since 1955 Soviet sources have continually complained that in spite of past achievements the present state of industrialization is far from satisfactory. In an article in the *Progressive*, Milton Mayer reported the following remark by a Russian visiting Italy: "I make a distinction," the Russian said,

between culture and civilization. We do not have so much civilization, especially in the villages—bathtubs, refrigerators, and so on. What we have is culture. Our people all read and think, and they have ballet and symphony music everywhere. That is what I mean by culture. It would be nice to have civilization too, but civilization without culture is dangerous to the whole world, don't you think? . . . If you have to do without one or the other, it is better to do without so much civilization, don't you think?³¹

These conditions need not, of course, exist forever. If, as a result of enforced and quickened industrialization, the Soviet Union succeeds in matching the United States, not in the output of scientists, which is merely a first step toward that goal and not necessarily a decisive one, but in the mechanization of life, then the story might be different. For

the Soviet Union, however, this will be a difficult task. It will be difficult in view of the expanse and virginal character of much of its territory. It will be difficult because of the rather contemplative character of its people and the low output per worker, barely offset by the advantages of centralized direction. It will be difficult because the Soviet system lacks incentives that stimulate maximum individual economic effort and for efficiency relies instead on a substitute of ideological appeal and governmental enforcement. It will be difficult because there is growing evidence that the Soviet Union cannot maintain its present rate of industrial expansion without more seriously jeopardizing agricultural production and incurring further restiveness among the people, already anxious for consumer goods.

The superiority of the United States may eventually terminate. The aging of the culture, its opulence and leisure, and its immigration restrictions no less than the laxity in its schools may slow down the tempo of effort and blunt the dynamics of the American economy. Meanwhile the Soviet economy, younger, more austere, more determined, may continue to develop. But contrary to those who warn about Soviet scientists, American superiority is not likely to terminate by a unilateral accretion of strength of the Soviet state. An anxiety on the part of the USA, with a superb assembly line, and soon an automotive industrial plant, toward the USSR, which twenty years ago had to sneak out hastily the dismantled German industries to supplement its own potential, seems to be somewhat premature, even space ships notwithstanding.

Political Considerations. A political approach supplies further reasons why the facts on the output and training of Soviet scientists cannot be used without caution as guides to the reorganization of the American school system. In this connection, the issues of authoritarianism and compulsion as keys to success in the construction and carrying out of science programs are relevant. Absence of strong direction, inertia of local bodies now entrusted with control, and general adverse effects of the democratic "muddle" have often, and with justice, been deplored as important causes of the American inability to meet international challenges in education. But again, as in Chapter 2, a caution must be entered against a too hasty equation of good school programs with centralized school authority.

To begin with, the importance of centralization and compulsion for Soviet science training has often been overstressed. Even had there been no official pressure in favor of the sciences in the USSR, there is ample evidence to indicate that in the atmosphere of political insecurity such as

Russia has experienced, the sciences, the "safe" subjects, attract an overwhelming majority of students. Without direction, the pressure for admission to science faculties continues to exceed several times the corresponding applications in humanities, the subject with the unhappy tradition of recantations and purges. Sciences also offer in an examination-oriented system less chance that one's grades will depend on the personal valuation of the grader. Cases of lawsuits against professors for reputedly wrong grading have not been infrequent. Science interests, finally, afford not only more opportunity for final employment and advancement but also broaden the scope for student part-time employment in a system where the failure of reaching a required grade meant until now the suspension of the stipend. Thus, controls by themselves are not a sufficient explanation for the Soviet success in producing scientists. If there are powerful official incentives, there are also powerful unofficial incentives to make science the major area of concentration in Soviet education.

American society must, therefore, devote its first attention to similar unofficial incentives. The need for scientists cannot be filled simply by centralized programs and allocations of manpower. Schemes of national scholarships for science students, government subsidized technological institutes and colleges, provision for released time for scientists to teach science subjects, subsidized salaries for science teachers, or general federal aid are as far as the government can go in alleviating the shortage of science personnel. But these measures are in a final reckoning no more than inducements. Only through inducements, of which in a free society the advertising of the need is really the most substantial, can independent universities adjust their facilities to the demands of the time, the locally run school systems adjust their teaching force, and, most important, the parents and pupils be led to steer their children or themselves into the desired courses of study. In American society the desires and needs of the community as a whole must be accepted and internalized as the desires and needs of the individuals, if the system is to work. Where there is no compulsory direction of labor, only national advertising can accomplish the desired fusion.

There is thus nothing wrong, indeed there is much that is laudable, in the present American agitation to increase scientific potential. As the country's needs increase, so will, and should, this vital campaign also increase. Nor is there anything basically objectionable in the use of the corresponding Soviet achievements as the means of stirring up such agitation. Advertising stratagems have, after all, become an accepted part of this culture and are being used in much less worthy causes. The use of

education in ads such as "I sent my son to Groton while driving an Austin," or "The Professor (in mortarboard and underclothes) studies the science of Durene socks," might seem, at least to educators, infinitely more questionable. The "Russian menace," "threat," "scare," or "bogus," according to whether one is conservative, middle-of-the-road, liberal, or fellow-traveler, has been frequently used as an instrument for winning an election, gaining senatorial influence, or discrediting political opponents. This technique might well be used to further the efforts in education.

Even if those whose duty it is to emphasize manpower needs choose to do so by appealing to the American sporting spirit by implying that the nation is in some sort of a scientific race with the Soviet Union, such appeals can be useful. They are certainly less frightening than outright appeals for an arms race. Appeals to sporting spirit have always been successfully used in stimulating interest in international sports competitions, art and film festivals, and so forth. There is no reason why there should not be competition in educational or scientific attainments.

But one must not confuse the use of Russian successes for the stimulation of the American effort with the academic estimate of the balance of advantage on either side. The latter estimate gives no ground for assuming that authoritarianism or centralization is more conducive to good science training than decentralized educational procedures. Centralized government is more prone to action and thus figures more prominently in the annals of spectacular successes. But whenever a centrally directed political system triumphed by comparison with a decentralized it was only because the latter previously disintegrated from within. Local-minded political systems such as that of Switzerland or the Hanseatic League seem to have survived as long as they were effective. They perish just as centralized systems do when they fail in internal vigor.

All things being equal, an effective local system has an excellent chance of survival. The sum total of enlightened individual efforts seems always superior to a somewhat mechanical central legislation for the masses. Enlightened individual effort implies by definition that self-discipline that will secure the cooperation of others. The society that concentrates on educating individuals rather than on disciplining groups builds better than it may appear from a perfunctory estimate.

If a decentralized school system works inefficiently, then indeed it may be safer to entrust the direction of education to few wise men. But one cannot compare the relevance to science training of a badly operating decentralized system with a well-operating centralized pattern. Before advocating central direction for American schools one must pause to

examine all the possible ways by which the Russian challenge in the sciences could be met through the *improvement* instead of the *sacrifice* of the traditional American flexibilities.

Doubts can also be thrown on the premise that the Soviet school system will in fact continue to operate successfully under a centralized administrative direction. Soviet compulsions are directed not only toward science training but also toward securing uniform political ideology. Thus its very successes are potentially disruptive. The quality of culture cannot be perpetually shaped by political or intellectual dictation. Allen Dulles aptly put it when he quoted Wendell Willkie in 1942 telling Stalin, "If you continue to educate Russian people, Mr. Stalin, the first thing you know, you'll educate yourself out of a job." "However much the Soviets condition a man's mind, however narrowly they seek to direct him after he is trained, they cannot in the end prevent him from exercising that critical sense that they, themselves, have caused to be created in him when they gave him education."³² Harold Berman expressed the same opinion:

The Soviet leaders are confronted with an intense and almost unbearable dilemma. They want scientific and material progress and they want the Soviet people not merely to obey the regime but also to believe in it. They know that such progress and such belief cannot exist without at least some measure of *clash of opinion* and *freedom of criticism*.³³

Contrary to popular notions, the Soviet administration is extremely sensitive to public opinion, and this is why it attempts to muzzle it so carefully. It may be that the present success of the Soviet schools will mean their steady alienation from authority, to the support of which they are said to be devoted.

It would be out of place to indulge here in speculation as to what is going to happen to the present regime. As Alfred Meyer put it, "anyone pretending to have information which permits even intelligent speculation on these matters is either a charlatan or a fool."³⁴ But it also seems somewhat foolish to build the American effort in the sciences on so uncertain a prediction of the Soviet future.

The experience of the democratic countries of western Europe suggests, of course, that a centralized administration safeguards good academic standards and can coexist with freedom of opinion. These countries are not, however, comparable to the USSR in the sciences. The Soviet successes in science, on the other hand, whether due to unofficial or official

incentives, are in one way or another a response to the monolithic ideology of the state. Thus in comparative perspective, competition with the Soviet Union must be strictly distinguished from copying the Soviet Union. Americans cannot emulate the models of educational systems at hand. They cannot use European models; there centralization guarantees freedom but not successful science output. They cannot follow the Soviet pattern; there centralization stimulates science output but denies freedom. America is, thus, groping for a third and distinct comparative model, one in which a strong emphasis on science is compatible with freedom and the local controls that sustain it.

Historical Review. Still another correction to the notion that Soviet success in science is a direct result of current Soviet educational practices will come from a review of historical antecedents. Education in the USSR is a product of ancient traditions, to the shaping of which the structure of the Russian state, its military needs, and the growing industrialization of the region have all contributed.

R. G. Albion once remarked at Harvard that the governmental patterns of East and West are purely products of history. The early Englishmen who came to settle in the United States were shipmasters. The early conquerors of Russian Asia were mercenaries. The American frontier was opened by men who, independent of authority under sail, did not easily take government direction when on land. Russian land expansion, on the other hand, was always controlled from the center; in each new territory the armed cossack bands were quickly replaced by orderly government bureaucracy.

Accustomed to look to the center for direction, the Russian people long before the Revolution responded to the call of the government for substantive science training. From the earliest times, Russian cultural and scientific efforts clustered around the courts. Already the tradition of the Kiev schools, transplanted to Moscow in 1649 through Peter Mogila's academy, contained some elements of Aristotelian science in the classical Greek training they offered.³⁵ By the middle of the seventeenth century the department of war at the court was carrying out projects in cartography and the department of apothecaries was laying the foundation for medical training.³⁶ Early interest in the defense of the Russian plains placed an emphasis on military engineering and fortress building. Finally, Peter the Great's admiration for Western technology, as he found it in Holland and England, truly began the investment from which the Soviet state is now benefiting.

The founding of the Moscow school of navigation in 1701, of the artillery school in 1712, of the naval academy in 1715, and of the Academy of Sciences in 1725 began a steady expansion of Russian scientific studies. These studies soon received a further impetus from the appearance of the mining industry in the eighteenth century, from incipient railway construction in the early nineteenth century, and from the multiple impact of industrialization. Names of prominent Russian scientists, such as Lomonosov, associated with the founding of Moscow University; Zhukovsky, the father of Russian aerodynamics; Euler and Lobachevski, the master mathematicians; Pavlov, the psychologist; and scores of others began to take their place in the international history of scientific discoveries of the age of technology.

Under the Tsars secondary schools and universities took their cues from Western practices. As a consequence, Russia reproduced the German emphasis on science. The secondary school code of 1864 recognized the already established division into the classical and *Realgimnasium*, the latter oriented to modern languages and science. Besides the universities, *Technische Hochschulen* evolved from German prototypes and also as a result of influence of French engineering traditions. The founding of the Institute of Engineers of Ways of Communication in St. Petersburg in 1806 inaugurated the growth of technical schools. Within a short period these schools reached a high scholarly and social level.

By the time of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, the Russian methods of technological and vocational education had attracted international attention. As recounted by Lawrence Cremin:

The few displays of tools from Moscow and St. Petersburg literally stole the show; their objects showed the West for the first time that Russian educators had finally made a breakthrough on the thorny problem of how to organize meaningful, instructive shop training as an essential adjunct of technical education.³⁷

As a result of successful transplantation from abroad and continuous efforts, technical schools long before the Revolution equaled in importance their older academic sisters.

The prestige of the engineering schools was very high in Russia and the best talent in the country would compete for a vacancy in the teaching staff. Success in this competition depended principally on the published scientific works of the candidates. The promotion of the teaching staff also occurred on the basis of scientific production and the seniority principle was not used.³⁸

Soviet emphasis on science derives its strength from this solid pre-revolutionary tradition. In fact, even today one can identify Soviet complaints that the direction of the scientific effort is in the hands of "old men," hence of men trained before the Revolution. As Sir Eric Ashby wrote:

It is widely believed that modern Russia is managed by young men. For science, at any rate, this belief is unfounded. By and large science is in the hands of old men. . . . Some of these men are still remarkably active and they really control their institutes. Others are somewhat frail, and the *de facto* control of their institutes has fallen to deputy directors, the unenviable position of deputy director being held often by a man already in his sixties. A man young enough to have begun his university education under the Soviet regime might by now be in his middle forties—quite old enough to take the lead in Soviet science. Yet only thirteen scholars born in the twentieth century have been elected to the Academy; six of these are writers on philosophical or economic affairs; one is an explorer, and only six are scientists.³⁹

This age element ought to be kept in mind when relating the present Soviet science successes to the quality of educational training. From the Revolution until 1936, the date of the return of the Soviet system to formal pre-revolutionary methods, the quality of all school training, including that in the sciences, appears to have deteriorated. To miss having received their training in this experimental period, the prominent Soviet scientists of today would have to have been born after the late twenties and thus be now in their forties. The disruption of serious educational effort during World War II further depleted the supply of younger potential science leaders. Even in the most recent reorganization of the Academy of Science in 1961, A. N. Nesmeyanov, aged 73, was replaced by M. V. Keldish, aged 51. At present, a substantial part of Soviet science leadership seems to be derived from those who were trained before the Revolution.

Soviet science spectaculars, thus, are in part explained by Russian history. Present-day science training derives strength as does all education from its ancient traditions. There is no doubt that the science education now offered in the Soviet Union is impressive and that the younger scientists already much in evidence in the new science centers will live up to and perhaps upgrade old standards. But historical heritage plays a potent part. Comparatively speaking, it furnishes insight into why the potential of the Soviet and the American science programs seem to differ.

The Soviet effort in science is emerging from two centuries of steady growth in which application was firmly rooted in the historical attention paid to theory. The strength of the USSR in basic research has only recently been matched by efforts to embark upon large-scale application. American strength, on the other hand, has always been in application. Americans did not invent Bessemer's steel process, Whipple's jet engine, or Fleming's penicillin. Their genius was in taking these inventions and making possible their application on a large scale. Americans possess the historical experience in large-scale production but lack foundation in theory, which they could always import from western Europe. Similar importations could not freely flow into Russia without also bringing ideas dangerous to authoritarianism. Hence, successive governments were forced to encourage basic effort in science, with educational programs adapted to this commitment. Hence, also, the present efforts of the two educational systems were bound to be different, with the Russians attempting to pass from theory to application and the Americans seeking new strengths in theory.

Other Possible Approaches. Sociological, economic, political, and historical circumstances that qualify the comparative judgment on American and Soviet science potential do not alone settle the matter. Social scientists trained in other disciplines could more fully work out the implications for the comparison of psychological, philosophical, anthropological, and other insights. In the absence of such training only tentative avenues of analysis can be indicated in these fields. They amplify further the multiple relationships that must be recognized in educational comparisons.

To determine the American and Soviet science potential from the standpoint of psychology the following question could be studied: The Soviet student puts in a greater number of hours in science per week and an equivalent number of hours in the humanities; he goes to school six days a week instead of five; he is studying in the rigors of a competitive and formalist education. Does it follow from this that the Soviet Union will have better trained scientists?

It could be argued that educational programs that overload students with subject-matter have not and never will succeed in matching the expansion of the more flexible school systems. Imagination, eagerness to experiment, dynamic energy to expand do not automatically result from forced learning. The innovators—the Galileos, the Pasteurs, the Deweys of history—have if anything provoked opposition from established scholars. The daring shipmaster of seventeenth-century England could not

match an Italian oceanographer in knowledge of the seas or the Spanish galleon captain in the mastery of naval strategy. Perhaps that is why he took more risks.

The thorough knowledge of the field does not altogether square with addition of new knowledge, as anyone who attempts to keep up with existing literature and to do original research surely must know. One is reminded of a time-honored definition of intellectual ability at Oxford, so different from the continental counterpart. A knowledgeable man, a man in possession of a wealth of facts, in Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders' words, "the admirable plodding type possessed by some pathetic desire to improve himself" is a second-class honors man. But a man of select but well-chosen facts, a man with brilliant ideas able to do a great deal with less material, such is the model of the Oxford first-class honors man. This emphasis on selective knowledge seems to be the mark of expansive youthful cultures, while emphasis on encyclopedic information is a sign of more conservative and less vigorous cultures.

The Soviet system is painfully aware of the danger of overloading the curriculum. Soviet sources are full of complaints that practical training is sacrificed to theoretical emphasis, yet they are hard put to stem the tide. The emphasis on competitive examinations favors the crammer over the man of imagination and ideas. A graduate of a typical east European gymnasium, toward which the Russian secondary school seems to have reverted, may have had as many as six years of biology, eight of mathematics, and four each of physics and chemistry. But if personal reminiscence is a valid guide, these graduates do not seem to possess more practical scientific knowledge than average American science majors. Any differences at the point of graduation from secondary schools tend to be equalized by the time of graduation from college or by the time the on-the-job apprenticeship is completed. It is incontestable that a vigorously run school program inculcates orderliness, good study habits, and sometimes visions of excellence. But to assume that the amount of teaching forced upon the pupils is directly relevant to the amount of knowledge they will acquire and even more to acumen with which they will practice technical skills is to assume the effectiveness of the schools out of proportion with reality.

From the standpoint of anthropology, what strikes one as most relevant to Soviet science efforts is the enormous national pride of the Russian people. Whenever a technical achievement is heralded in the West, the Russians command enough centralized resources quickly to divert their best available forces to reproduce it at home. It is as much

if not more a matter of national touchiness as it is a matter of sound science training. The Russian concern as to who invented what first is by now surely proverbial. The Russians are as remarkable for their anxiety to surpass the United States as are Americans for wanting to surpass them. The ornateness of the public buildings in the USSR, the pomp and chandeliers of the famous Moscow subway, the gilded tours so long meted out to visitors, these are but symptoms of the touchy Slavic insecurity that is taken into account far too little. There is an anecdote about a Russian official in the Soviet zone of Berlin complaining to a United States official about the lateness of some promised deliveries. When the American pointed out that the Russian requisition was behind, the Russian rose to full stature. "I am not talking about my behind, but about your behind." The Russians submit to their regime, acquiesce in the excesses of their leaders, grumble only a little at the political slogans blared at them. But they are vigorously on the defensive when in contact with foreigners. It is not, as is sometimes believed, because they are such good Communists. After all, only some ten million out of some two hundred million chose or were persuaded to join the Party. It is because they are Russians. Their attachment to *rodina* (fatherland), their inferiority complex, and their Slavic pride are, as much as their educational system, a clue to the spectacular in their industrial output and their race to be first in technological progress.

To shift now to international relations, Soviet science efforts are motivated strongly by a sense of external insecurity. The Russian people are, after all, brought up in the belief that capitalism is a ruthless system dominated by rapacious and unscrupulous individuals. Ever since World War I, notably from the Murmansk expedition, they have feared that the West will attempt to thwart the Revolution. The Russian fear of the American air bases that encircle them could only be understood when the USSR almost succeeded in establishing one such base near the United States in Cuba. There was some logic in the Russians' pointing out, particularly at the time of Senator McCarthy's investigations, that even though the intentions of the United States are undeniably peaceful now, in a democracy the government is unstable enough to make its future course unpredictable. Should the present prosperity collapse, the government might be seized by extreme elements that might try to deflect the attention of the American people from domestic problems by involving the country in a foreign war. This is what the Russians say they are preparing for.

Russian defensive, however, has always taken the form of an

offensive shaped according to a definite formula. In the words of Sir Roger Makins,

Soviet Communism is like a tide which comes in and moves into inlets or wherever the water can flow. And there is, of course, the old truism that you can't have a vacuum anywhere in the world. If you create a vacuum, something else is going to be drawn into it.⁴⁰

This will remain the rule of Russian expansion whether or not it remains Communist. Communism is a danger only insofar as it allows the Russians to marshal their resources for the sake of mass results, and with less regard to the welfare of the individual citizen, insofar as it ideologically appeals to poor nations, insofar as it supplies the modicum of unrest and the source of inexpensive espionage in America. Communism is a useful additional tool in the implementation of the Russian tradition of the relatively peaceful but relentless expansion. It is Russia, not the Soviet Union, that so expands.

From the time when Dezhnev reached the Bering Straits in 1648 under orders from the Tsar, through the agitation of Muraviev in Manchuria and of Menschikov in Constantinople to the first Five-Year Plan and the Cold War, the story is the same. In the age of sea power Russia sought warm water ports, in the age of nationalism, a Pan-Slavic century to replace an Anglo-Saxon century; in the age of Marx, the union of proletarians, in the age of peace, a messianic message of goodwill. And all the time under whatever guise, Russia's power is spreading. The production of scientists in the United States must be stepped up, therefore, to a point of checking Russian expansion. For Americans it is not so much a question of achieving equality or superiority of scientific potential as of creating a force sufficient to deter the USSR from abuses. It is a problem of concentrating on an *adequate* science force to fill American needs and to give the country the resilience and strength it requires.

Efforts in this direction will inevitably require that the United States face some philosophical questions. If one assumes that the Russians have an undeniable superiority in scientists, that it will lead to their overwhelming economic predominance, that they will use their power to overwhelm the United States, the question still remains, what are Americans going to do about it? If they are called upon to relinquish democracy to insure survival, what should they do? Should they advertise for an increased number of scientists purely from the standpoint of national defense, without regard for their other ideals? Should they institute shortcuts to efficiency by forcing the universities to follow government direc-

tives? Should they introduce centralized and planned education? In short, should they copy Soviet methods to achieve Soviet results? If this is the price of survival, ought the United States pay it? This is the kind of ultimate question that those who advocate gearing American scientific expansion to the Soviet tempo would have to face if it turns out that the Soviet system can only be surpassed through Soviet methods.

It is here that the comparative approach may make its last point. For the real problem is to match in conviction a competitor whose beliefs are sincere. Though there is a widening stream of evidence that the strict Marxist ideology evokes less and less of the former fervor and enthusiasm in all classes, there is abundant material to suggest that the Russians as Russians, and in particular the Russian students, are as fervently as ever attached to their country. It is a great mistake now to regard communism as a movement designed to overthrow anything. Communism in Russia is a movement designed to preserve what it has already attained. It is, and increasingly so, a conservative movement. In the eyes of the Soviet youth, communism is, just as democracy is to Americans, "the Russian achievement," the point of pride, something particularly Russian. There is substantial evidence that the young people in Russia, eager and earnest, are dedicated to their system and that if challenged the majority of them, though lukewarm as activists, would defend it to the end. These Russians, whom this writer has met, exhibit a remarkably blind security of convictions.

It is this conviction that Americans need to match. They must outdo the Russians in the dedication to their own ideals. American democracy has something very real, something genuine, simply to defend the truth; the Russians' inner security can be purchased only at the price of a singular mental equilibristic. The Russians must learn to see only what they want to see. A poem by Sergei Mikhalkov, the author of the Russian national anthem, describes Socialist realism in the form of a fable.⁴¹ "A king," he wrote, "who had only one arm and one leg wanted his portrait painted. There was brought one painter, and he painted the king with one leg and one arm. He was hanged for bourgeois realism. There was brought another painter, and he painted the king with two arms and two legs. He was hanged for formalism and idealism. There was brought a third painter and he painted the king's profile showing only the good arm and leg; he was given the prize for Socialist realism." The Russian must learn to see only what he wants to see. It is a narrow but nonetheless committed vision. Can democratic people match it? The race for scientists is in the ultimate analysis not merely a matter of administrative reorganization but a race between cynicism and dedication for the possession of souls.

Chapter Five

Teacher Performance in Three Countries

England, France, and Germany

From a comparative analysis of two countries we pass to a comparison of three countries; from a moralistic tone to an analytical treatment. This chapter is a typical illustration of the latter approach to comparative education. It presents an old and unresolved educational issue, the problem of quality in teacher training and how to maintain it in the face of pressure to expand the number of members of the profession. There are no clear-cut answers to this problem. The value of comparative analysis, as currently advocated by specialists, lies not in the exhortatory powers of which we have seen comparative education to be capable but rather in the refinement of understanding of educational issues. Such refinement comes from facing the whole panorama of solutions that different school systems have used to attack common problems.

This chapter is the first in this text to give priority to the factor analysis. The emphasis in preceding chapters was on comparing geographical areas; in this discussion the school experience of different countries is used only to illustrate the two trends that link them. These trends—the tendency of all teacher-training institutions to seek postsecondary status, and the expanding role of the liberal arts in professional training—are the focuses of analysis. Further details on teacher education in the relevant areas appear in tables, according to the schematic treatment advocated in Chapters 1 and 2.

The present chapter is a study in similarities. The three countries compared in this chapter have each evolved different methods of teacher training, but they share enough of a heritage to exhibit basic common traits. Because England, France, and Germany are major countries of western Europe, their methods to insure high-quality teachers are copied by other European and European-influenced countries. By inference, then, the evidence and conclusions presented are representative of a wider area, and as such, lead to the formulation of trends that, if found sufficiently universal, will ultimately emerge as the laws of comparative education.

QUANTITY VERSUS QUALITY

Postwar reconstruction in western Europe was accompanied by a reappraisal of the educational system as a whole and a concomitant reevaluation of questions relating to teacher training. What is the essence of good teacher preparation? What is to be the central aim of teacher education in an increasingly industrial society? How are the training institutions to adapt their traditions to meet new practical needs? These are the questions to which all countries have been seeking new answers.

On the surface these answers should be purely educational. To quote trends identified some years ago by Karl Bigelow, European education faces

the lengthening period of teacher preparation; the mounting problem of maintaining an adequate supply of qualified teachers; the growing emphasis on child study as a key element in professional training; the increased awareness of the necessity that teachers be prepared to adjust educational practice to changing social circumstances; the struggle with the problems of what are the best proportions of general and professional education in the preparation of teachers and of how these components may best be related to one another; the more vivid awareness of the importance of providing continuous opportunities for teachers in service to increase their understanding and competence.²

All of these factors play an important role in determining what should constitute the new training methods and curricula. Yet the major problem in the reconstruction of teacher training can be interpreted not as educational but as social. Two contradictory tendencies have dominated postwar reform policies. The first is based on the necessity of supplying large numbers of teachers to cope with the growing school population. The

second is rooted in the need for maintaining and improving the status of teachers and hence standards of training in order to keep up with the increasing professional standing of other occupations.

The need for more schools is steadily expanding in Europe. The postwar birth rate is taxing to the breaking point the facilities of the educational institutions; technological progress and the necessity of maximizing exports stimulate demand for teachers of skills while offering highly competitive occupational alternatives to teaching; the impact of equalitarianism and of welfare policies tends to transform schools for the elite into universal schools. All these factors cause a demand for an increased teaching force.

At the same time, in Europe today many other occupations are steadily advancing to professional status. In the last century the formation of the teaching profession followed patterns of other liberal professions or the civil service. The placid nineteenth-century English dame who defended her position with the famous quip, "It is little they pays us and it is little we teaches them," has long since been replaced by a white collar professional anxious to be identified in appearance, training, and social recognition with other liberal professions and concerned about the advances of the occupations hitherto regarded as having less prestige. In Europe as in the United States, members of the teaching profession are caught between the lawyer and doctor, who do not quite accept them as social equals, and the clerk and the foreman, who now speedily acquire the badges of middle-class status. Threat of submersion in the vast new middle class preoccupies even the highest ranks of professionals.³ In the case of teachers, it resolves itself not only in pressure for increased salaries but also in determination to ensure the high quality of training and service that will entitle those in the field to more social recognition.

There is one difficulty in all this. The need for greater numbers of teachers and the pressure for higher standards do not easily go together. Every move to increase the number of teachers threatens traditionally high European standards of training. Every attempt to improve selection threatens supply. Theoretically, by concentrating on improving the quality of teacher training, and consequently social status, the profession should attract talent from among those who are now entering more promising occupations. By insisting on quality, all European countries might expect ultimately to have quantity as well. But in the immediate future it is difficult to foresee this theory fulfilled.

Advanced professional training has always been associated with control and the limitation of the number of new entrants. Careful selection

for training enables professions to demand high remuneration, since the services which they render are scarce and require a high degree of skills. High educational caliber, high salaries, refinement of manners, and the feeling that the profession is "exclusive" make up the pattern of occupational prestige. Although in few European countries do the teachers alone frame directly the policies of training institutions, no country can afford to ignore their professional ambitions. Thus they exert much pressure to enhance training and to limit the number of entrants so as to maximize the standing of the profession. Small numbers are directly connected with high educational standards.

But if the immediate need for increased teaching forces in all countries of Europe is to be fulfilled, it is hard to see how the standards of admission can be kept up. Under the conditions of full employment, in particular, high standards by themselves cannot entice into teaching the able people now attracted to other occupations that are far more flexible than teaching. Many fields easily outbid teaching not only in offering equivalent intellectual stimulation but also in affording richer economic and social inducements. At least until the widening range of European education brings forth the talented youth now untapped, the need for large numbers of teachers must mean the admission of those who do not meet the more exacting requirements of occupations having greater prestige. Some teachers will be the potential rejects from other professions. Recruitment of large numbers must mean, at least for the time being, lowering of requirements.

There exists, then, a conflict of interest in Europe between the need to provide more teachers and the need to maintain caliber. Only one goal, either more teachers or better teachers, can be effectively granted priority at any time. In practice, the nature of facilities for training will be an expression of where the major emphasis is placed.

When the first goal is chosen the requirements and rigors of the selective process will be relaxed. All vacancies will then be filled from among the vast ranks of less prepared and less able candidates. The next concern of the administrator will be to improve the professional preparation of those so trained and appointed. Insisting on inservice training, emphasizing renewal of certification and summer refresher courses, designing salary scales to reward additional academic achievements and degrees, establishing rules requiring further courses of study as a condition of promotion—these are among the many devices that can be used to improve the standards of training of a vast body of teachers already actively engaged in teaching.

When the second goal is preferred, high standards will be maintained and candidates will continue to be screened selectively. Ultimately, maintenance and perhaps an increase in the stature of the profession will attract to teaching those who prefer it to other occupations but who will not enter the field if it does not offer at least a living wage and some social recognition. However, the immediate teacher shortage will have to be remedied by makeshift measures. Employment of married women and assistant teachers, the issuance of temporary certificates, certificates based on the years of teaching experience, emergency training schemes of shortened duration, such devices may be used to fill the teacher shortages at least temporarily, without weakening the argument that regular teacher training is professionally sound and academically respectable and, therefore, entitles teachers to appropriate social recognition.⁴

The first pattern secures numbers but endangers standards. The second pattern maintains the status but jeopardizes the supply of teachers. In particular, in schools having the least prestige, it places the pupil in the charge of a virtually untrained teacher instead of a moderately trained teacher. Its compensation lies in the provision of the highly trained teacher for the better schools.

EUROPEAN SOLUTIONS

Obviously neither of the two patterns is practiced in any one country exclusively. Good training in some institutions and mediocre training in others, inservice training alongside temporary certificates, promotion by additional training, together with promotion by years of service, all these practices are found in most countries. But whereas the American system has been forced by the enormous needs of universal education to adopt the first order of priorities, western Europe, emerging from the system of education for an elite, clings to the second alternative. The transition toward universal education, which has had so great an impact on postwar Europe, has not as yet affected the reorganization of teacher training by moving it toward the first solution.

In all western European countries, with the possible exception of Spain,⁵ programs of teacher training have been geared to raising and not to lowering quality. Policy makers are continually concerned with the threatening teacher shortages and sometimes have adopted ingenious emergency measures. But the program of teacher training has been planned not with an eye to inducting into service the less gifted by means of lowering the standards of training programs but rather by maintaining

and, indeed, increasing the quality of academic instruction. European educators have made endeavors to adjust traditional modes of training to new demands, but their main concern has been to shield these traditional modes from loss or impairment of value. No trace can be found of attitudes with which observers of the American scene are familiar: namely, the recognition that vast demands for teachers and their highly specialized duties may be met by a strictly practical professional training that cannot hope to emulate the traditional liberal disciplines. On the contrary, the caliber of the teacher is under no circumstances to be surrendered to expediency. High quality of educational preparation, an aura of selectivity, prestige attached to graduation from a rigorous program of training, effective school teaching, and general cultivated bearing—these are qualities of education upon which Europe insists. Such emphasis is directly related to the enhancement of professional status. It is socially exclusive as well as educationally desirable. But it cannot be geared primarily to the increase of the number of recruits, which aim must take a second seat as an object of policy.

Two major trends exemplify particularly well the existence of these attitudes: an endeavor to provide university or equivalent status for all teachers and an inclusion of some liberal arts courses in teacher training programs. Rather than develop the concept of teaching as skilled craftsmanship in a popular occupation, European educators prefer to look upon teachers, at least potentially, as university trained professionals. Rather than expand the time allotted to practical methods and experimentation in teacher training, emphasis continues along the lines of making teachers at home in traditionally liberal disciplines.

The problems associated with the two trends just mentioned are closely interconnected, but separate mention seems justified for the following reason: training of elementary or primary school teachers and training of secondary school teachers traditionally have been separate. The former have been trained in normal schools, which are largely on a secondary level, whereas the latter have been products of the universities. Thus, the question of raising standards through gaining postsecondary status has been important only to elementary teacher training. Secondary school teachers already have this status. On the other hand, in contrast to elementary school training, which includes such educational subjects as child psychology and measurement, secondary teacher training at the universities, particularly at the undergraduate level, has been for the most part academic in character. Only this type of training is acceptable to other faculties of European universities. But this poses a difficulty. The new emphasis on the inclusion of practical courses as part

of teacher training places the university departments of education in a dilemma. They are victims of tensions resulting from the clash between the championship of the practical subjects and the fear that such inclusion is bound to lessen the esteem accorded them by the colleagues of other departments. Two facts thus become apparent. First, searching for postsecondary status, the European training colleges for primary school teachers, now expanding their length of training, seek a closer connection with the universities and an increase of their liberal arts offerings. Secondly, striving for academic security, the university departments of education for secondary school teachers tend to protect their liberal arts offerings from the intrusion of practical subjects. Underlying both lurks an ambition of European educators to eradicate completely the distinctions between elementary and secondary teachers by unifying their training. This, under the circumstances, can only mean an all out effort to level up all teacher training institutions to the traditionally established liberal academic patterns.

Though the trend of evolution from secondary-level normal school to university department of education is in no way complete in Europe, movement in that direction is taking clear shape. The progress achieved and the distance to be traveled will be illustrated here by an examination of the records of England, France, and western Germany. These countries are major and typical representatives of the Western European community. The descriptive details of the features of their teacher training programs are tabulated below.

Teacher Training in Western Europe

	Country	Primary School Teacher Training	Secondary School Teacher Training
		Teacher training colleges.	University faculties of arts and science, and departments and in- stitutes of education
Type of Training Institutions	England	Teacher training colleges.	University faculties of arts and science, and departments and in- stitutes of education
	France	Écoles normales.	Académies. Facultés de lettres, et instituts. Écoles normales su- périeures. Centres pédagogiques région- aux.

	Country	Primary School Teacher Training	Secondary School Teacher Training
Type of Training Institutions (continued)	West Germany	<i>Pädagogische Hochschulen, Insti- tuten, und Akade- mien. Arbeitsge- meinschaften für Lehrerfortbildung.</i>	<i>Philosophische Fakul- täten der Universität. Anstaltsseminars, Bezirksseminars.</i>
Admission Require- ments	England	General certificate of education—ad- vanced level; (G.C.E.) (age 18).	University matricula- tion, general certifi- cate of education— advanced level.
	France	<i>Concours after cours complémen- taire (age 15).</i>	<i>Baccalauréat (plus usually one more year of preparation). Cer- tificat préparatoire. Immatriculation.</i>
	West Germany	<i>Abitur. Formerly Lehrerprüfung in Lehreroberschule (age 18).</i>	<i>Abitur.</i>
Length of Training	England	Three years.	Undergraduate de- gree usually three years. One year of postgraduate work.
	France	Four years (age 15– 18).	Undergraduate de- gree usually three years. One year of postgraduate work. Second year for <i>agrégation</i> .
	West Germany	Two to three years (plus two years of inservice training).	At least four years of undergraduate work (plus two years of inservice training).

Country	Primary School Teacher Training	Secondary School Teacher Training
England	General education: one or two academic subjects to the advanced level. Professional education: principles and practice teaching; history, health, psychology of education.	Undergraduate pass or honors in one to three academic subjects. Postgraduate: philosophy, history, psychology, principles of education, measurement, methods of teaching special subjects.
France	Two years: general subjects for <i>baccalauréat</i> , first part, plus drawing, music, handicraft, horticulture. Third year: general subjects for <i>baccalauréat</i> , second part, plus philosophy. Fourth year: professional subjects, principles, psychology, sociology, history, theories of education, school law, ethics, elementary school subjects, practice teaching.	Undergraduate certificate in three to five academic subjects. Inservice theoretical and practical training in one academic subject.
West Germany	Intensive study of one academic subject. Psychology, theory, methods, practice teaching, school organization, inservice training in	Undergraduate credits in one or more academic subjects and study of philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, and political science.

Nature
of
Training

	Country	Primary School Teacher Training	Secondary School Teacher Training
Nature of Training (continued)	West Germany	psychology, problems of teaching, school law, civic education.	Inservice training in psychology, school life, school community relations, school law, administration, philosophy of education; practice teaching and supervision.
	England	Teacher's certificate for qualified teacher.	Bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, and teacher's diploma as qualified teacher.
Graduation Require- ments	France	<i>Certificat de fin d'études normales. Instituteur stagiaire. Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique. Instituteur titulaire</i> (after three months' probation).	<i>Licence ès lettres, licence ès sciences, licence d'enseignement—adjoint d'enseignement. Certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement public de second degré (C.A.P.E.S.)</i> (after inservice training)— <i>Professeur certifié. Agrégation—professeur agrégé.</i>
	West Germany	Examination for <i>Lehramtsanwärter. Lehramtsprüfung</i> (after two years of inservice training).	Examination for <i>Studienreferendar</i> . Examination for <i>Studienassessor</i> (after two years of inservice training). Promotion to <i>Studienrat</i> .

Note: In addition, each country has separate provisions for training of vocational teachers of all types.

FROM SECONDARY TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Except in France the tradition of normal schools on a secondary level has almost disappeared. In England the reorganized training colleges, which in the best British tradition are residential, admit only pupils who are 18 and who have completed secondary education (originally a general certificate of education-ordinary level, taken usually at 16, now a good advanced level certificate). The two-year course at training colleges has already been extended to three years, thus rendering the length of training equivalent to the normal duration of undergraduate university courses. All universities now have postgraduate departments of education. Through the creation of Area Training Organizations over which each such department presides, an influence has been brought to bear on the administration and program of all training colleges within the area. Postwar reforms also include creation of several national colleges of further education, notably technical, commercial, and art colleges. When compared with these, training colleges have edged even closer to university status. Among other privileges, for instance, they have a voice in the selection of the Directors of the Area Institutes of Education.

In Germany, also with some few exceptions, teacher training schools are climbing to the university level. The *Pädagogische Hochschule, Institut, or Akademie* for elementary school teachers now insists almost uniformly on the certificate of maturity (*Abitur*, or graduation from *Lehreroberschule*) as a prerequisite of admission. It no longer requires compulsory attendance at lectures. The length of training still varies from *Land to Land*, (the territorial division of the Federal Republic), but the tendency is to adopt three years (six semesters). This is followed by a first examination and by two or more years of school practice and further inservice courses with the local superintendent. Only after five years, a normal length of university training, is the prospective teacher allowed to take his second examination and to qualify for a permanent teaching post. Numerous German sources stress the desirability of according all teacher training a university status. The Pedagogical Institute of Hamburg is the first and so far the only training school in Germany to be closely associated with a university.

In France, normal schools for primary school teachers remain within the framework of secondary education. Even here, however, reorganization likens them to training colleges elsewhere. It is probably only because the Vichy government abolished the normal schools for reputedly left-wing tendencies that national pride has required their restor-

ation in postwar years. The schools admitted formerly at age 14 with a *brevet* of a completed senior primary school. Now they admit at 15 or 16 by competition from the pupils of the *cours complémentaire*. The curriculum of a four-year normal school not only brings the student to the level of a *baccalauréat*, which in the United States usually exempts from two years of college, but it also requires one additional year of professional studies. Through the traditional organization of French administration the normal schools are closely connected, as are all other secondary schools, with the university in their academy. Graduates of normal schools may pass to higher normal schools, well-known college-level institutions. The two famous *écoles normales supérieures* in Paris, now part of the Sorbonne, have been supplemented by two new schools. Together they train not only teachers for the normal school but also candidates of *aggrégation* in secondary schools and other professions. Like several other academic schools, the competitive examinations to higher normal schools are often preceded by a year of special preparation of a post-*bachot* character. In any case, the social standing of an *instituteur* always has compared favorably with the standing of elementary school teachers in other countries. In small towns the French teacher serves as a secretary to the mayor and performs other important civic functions. The teacher, as one report puts it, is a "notable."

In the basic social communities, by the side of the official power, and distinct from more tangible power of wealth, a more diffuse but no less efficient source of power, if temporary, is exercised by persons who have no other claim than that of forming the public opinion, of being notables. The elementary school teacher is one of these, the least opulent, and yet quite influential.⁶

Thus there are some indications that in western Europe institutions that train elementary school teachers are reaching out for college, or at least postsecondary, status. If we add the fact that graduates of the English training colleges are finding substantial placement opportunities in secondary schools, though mostly in the new secondary modern schools, and that promotion of German primary school teachers to *Mittelschulen* is now almost a matter of course, we perceive that there begins to be a blurring of the line between training at the primary and secondary levels.

As indicated at the bottom of the table above, the training of teachers of vocational and technical subjects was left out of the analysis; but it also

contributes to this fusion. On this subject Edmund King, in personal correspondence, writes as follows:

Traditionally they (the vocational teachers) are considered inferior in most countries; but they can command good wages outside if they are qualified craftsmen, and in their less bookish preoccupations they tend to cut across the old distinctions of "elementary" and "secondary." In Paris in particular they get some remarkably good material for this kind of teaching. They will not stand much nonsense. Moreover, it is only in this field that there is any decentralization of responsibility in France. So new adjustments of status and programme are possible in a way not found in bookish education.

This general blurring of the line denotes a clear upward progression towards university status. It raises to first importance the problem of the maintenance, expansion, and defense of liberal subjects as part of teacher training at all levels.

LIBERAL SUBJECTS IN TEACHER TRAINING

In the pattern of preparing secondary school teachers, as distinct from primary school teachers, university studies in subject matter have always been deemed indispensable. In England all education subjects are reserved for the fourth, postgraduate, year, for which candidates are recruited from the general college population and for which they receive not a higher degree but a diploma. In France, likewise, university training to the *licence* level is a prerequisite for entry into professional inservice training and preparation for further examinations and degrees. In Germany, at least four years (eight semesters) of university studies are required before the candidate can present himself for a semester leading to the first *Staatsexamen*, the gateway to practical training leading in turn to the second examination. Thus, at a secondary level, liberal subjects reign supreme. Even the courses in professional education are not always practical in an American sense. Through emphasis on philosophy of education, history of education, psychology, and methods of teaching subjects, the university departments of education have quietly adhered to traditionally safe academic standards.

Whenever the dividing line between primary and secondary teacher preparation is blurred, academic standards are defended with tenacity. When they clash with professional practical subjects, it may be safely

predicted that they will emerge unscathed. In spite of the extension of the principle of secondary education for all, the principles of training secondary school teachers remain largely unchanged. Nevertheless, when integration of primary and secondary training occurs, it inevitably means an extension of the liberal orientation to primary training. There are signs that this may mean more liberal training, possibly at the expense of practical training, even in those primary school teachers colleges that continue to remain separate.

While the general trends of European education thus exhibit similarities to American trends, the policies of teacher training have been moving in opposite directions. Indeed, the American trends in teacher training now seem to be returning to the European patterns.

Only one illustration will be given for each country. In England, writing in the *Journal of Education*, January 1956, J. W. Tibble contrasts the old concept of teacher training with the new. The latter, though intended for primary school teachers, is described as "long term and general." The education of teachers must blend the academic and the professional without distinguishing between them.

Our aim, should be to insure that the student is as fully and as liberally educated as he is capable of being in the time available. . . . A teachers college should be the place where students not intending to teach might go and benefit from the education provided.⁷

But the tensions that such a position evokes are well illustrated by a ringing indictment by a classroom teacher of these academic requirements:

Most young teachers fresh from the unreality and insipid generalizations of modern training colleges and departments (now all under the domination of these new and very properly slightly suspect university institutes) are bewildered and frightened by their early experience as salary earners. . . . Their pressure-fed culture and "fields of study" [are not] likely to be of much use, except perhaps to provide an inadequate cushion of conceit.⁸

The charge of this correspondent against "people who set papers and grant recognition to the aspiring teachers" and who "have as likely as not never been trained as teachers themselves" is almost identical to the accusation of the "interlocking directorate" with which the American educators have been confronted. There is one difference. American

educators are accused of being lowbrow. Their European colleagues are blamed for setting too highbrow a tone.

In France, similar tendencies and similar tensions may be observed. They are illustrated in an interesting fashion in a statement of the representatives of the *Société Nationale de l'Éducation Secondaire* opposing in 1955 the reform plan drawn up by the ministry of education. The proposals, which then included extension of compulsory education to the age of 16, extension of the intermediate course from 11 to 13, during which pupils would be selected for secondary schools, equalization of certain technical diplomas with the *baccalauréat*, and a certain lightening of the burden of the *bachot* examination, were opposed for the following reasons:

Secondary education is a cultural education, nonvocational in character, which is slowly acquired and the essential continuity of secondary education would be broken by the introduction of the suggested "middle course" from eleven to thirteen years. Further, the proposals envisaged the employment in the "middle course" of *unqualified teachers from primary schools. The short secondary school course would be dominated by primary education.* [my italics]⁹

The feelings of secondary school teachers about the primary school teachers, thus expressed, supply a clue not only to tensions in the schools themselves but also to the situation in teacher training. In institutions with a traditional intellectual direction, a vocational connotation, the *esprit primaire*, attributed to French primary school teachers is a formidable psychological barrier to further inclusion of practical training at the postprimary level. By the same token, the closer the training of primary school teachers resembles the liberal training of secondary school teachers, the greater would be the chance of the former being respected by the latter.

In Germany also we can discern the contempt with which the subject of education is regarded at the universities. Reporting on this situation, Henry Pilgert states that

the work offered does not carry the prestige of university work; nor does it afford the advantage of studying with professors of high standing in their fields and of using university library, seminar, and research facilities. It was noted that the attitude of the universities, and especially the members of the faculty of philosophy in

which the pedagogical work is offered whenever given on the university level, is a serious obstacle to bringing professional work into the university program. Most of the pedagogical work that is offered in the universities . . . is concerned with the history of pedagogy or with the history of educational theories. Too often the point of view seems to be that the day-by-day problems of education are simply not scholarly and hence have no place in the university.¹⁰

Protests against this academic dominance do not seem to have proceeded far. Although the reign of the philosophy faculties is

historically understandable but pedagogically wholly dubious, the invasion of the arts of gymnastics, of hygiene, has done little to change this relationship. Even though the new subjects recognize this tendency to over-abstraction, they yet move in the wake of the "philosophically" oriented . . . higher education.¹¹

Pressures to maintain the liberal content of teachers' professional preparation seem thus to be universal in European systems. They point clearly to the scale of priorities with which educators approach demands for expanded numbers. The question remains as to how these priorities will be adjusted to the advances of mass education.

There is no doubt that faced with these advances the traditional cultural patterns in which the teacher operated in elite education will have to be reexamined and perhaps revised. The English teacher may no longer content himself exclusively with imparting a mode of life, a pattern of gentlemanly behavior, a character training, and an interest in traditional subjects. The French teacher may no longer concentrate on turning himself and his pupils into scholarly intellectuals dedicated to theoretical analysis and scornful of practicality. The German teacher may no longer be the paternal civil servant administering to his pupils not only the culture but also the discipline of the benevolent authoritarian state. All will have to become more practical, learn how to handle the job of instructing without always being able to inspire, steel themselves against the drives and tone of the "masses," now their pupils, and, in short, learn the routine life of industrial clerks.

The hard working dedicated mediocrity who teaches from a more or less standardized syllabus in one of the less progressive secondary modern schools of England or high schools of the United States is neither a "master" nor a "Mr. Chips." He is an adequate but un-

impressive member of the undifferentiated horde that walks briskly from subway to office in C. Wright Mills' *White Collar*.¹²

In spite of changes, the adaptation of teacher training in western Europe to the American scale of priorities does not seem to occur, at least not on a general scale. The stubborn maintenance of academic standards remains the central theme of teacher training, even when confronted with the tremendous need for an enlarged teaching force. It remains to be seen whether this insistence will be broken down by the oncoming rush of the open society, or whether western European states will teach us yet another lesson—of how to reconcile quantity with quality and how to preserve amidst the practical-minded, expansionist, democratic age the values of a refined cultural heritage.

Chapter Six

Control of School Curricula in Four Countries

*The United States, the USSR,
France, and England*

This final illustrative chapter of simultaneous comparative analysis concerns itself with the control of curriculum in four countries. The method of comparison is similar to that used in the preceding chapter but emphasis is no longer on similarities. The task now is to identify distinct basic models of school control in the comparative panorama. A search for typologies is one of the special aims of comparative education.² In Chapter 5 the variations from common roots were analyzed to gain greater insight into the nature of similar educational problems and thus to discover the applicable universal laws. This chapter deals with differences and the aim is to classify and to catalogue the variations observed. In factor analysis, comparative education seeks to formulate laws when it meets persistent similarities; it seeks to construct typologies when faced with overwhelming differences.

The comparison must once again take into account the inclusion of the home country of the researcher. But the United States is handled differently than before. As in Chapter 4, the home country is used as a focus, against which the experience of the other three countries is compared and contrasted. But in the discussion that follows, an attempt has been made to furnish more actual evidence on American schools in order to balance better the comparative materials on other countries. This method makes

the comparison more systematic as well as more relevant for readers from other cultures.

Unlike in Chapter 4, the comparison will not be used for exhortatory purposes. The reader will be left to draw his own moral from the evidence presented. It is difficult to affect absolute detachment when a comparison of one's homeland is involved. Comparative analysis of this kind should, therefore, be excellent training in developing objectivity. Perhaps all that can be claimed for the analytical approach (presented in pure form in the last chapter) is that it tones down the temptation to be patriotic when one's own country is included in comparison. In any case, the mere fact of including one's home country should alert a writer to be on guard against his cultural biases. More will be said about this in Chapter 9.

CONTROL OF SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The control of school curriculum is vital to all societies. The formation of the minds and characters of children is one of the most important tasks facing each nation. But the process of working out these tasks has been fraught with difficulties. The good and bad sides of society are mirrored in education. Adults invest the schools with their noblest dreams, but they also project upon them their irrational complexes. Every group and party attempts to persuade the schools to serve its ideals; yet the public regards teachers as no better than governesses. The orderly integration of the young into the adult world could hardly take place without the power of schooling; but lofty aims in schools sometimes end only in foiled expectations.

The methods of curriculum control developed by each society are hallowed by usage, but it is difficult to characterize the people behind them. Sometimes jealously guarded privileges are a product of historical accident or of victories of men with no other claim to merit than their strength or cunning. At other times power is held by men with the holiest of motives. Most often the established controls are an end product of centuries of shifting for position. The resulting hodgepodge often defies description. Somehow school plans are drawn up and programs are taught; but even in the most centralized political systems, men who influence education fall from power eventually or change their viewpoints.

Ideologies are easier to identify than the men who formulate them. Always by way of rationalization, the battle for control of curriculum is fought on the basis of definable pedagogical principles. These may

stem from philosophical considerations. Thus self-determination of all people, fit and unfit, young and old, may be argued against the Platonic ideal of guardians appointed to determine and enforce the good. Other principles have their roots in politics. On the one side it is argued that direction of the schools by the central government will increase efficiency and equalize financing. On the other side comes the support of local control on the ground that it maximizes the influence of individuals, who have more power when in face-to-face communication with local legislators. The many debates and contests between supporters of local and central control of schools are born from these conflicting principles.

Philosophy, sociology, and the history of pedagogy provide arguments for one type of control over another. But comparative educators are now interested only in the way these different ideologies find visible expression in durable school structures. The systems that succeed in operating consistently according to their ideals emerge as key systems by which all other more hybrid cases can be classified. Though most countries are linked by the basic Western educational ideals, some represent end products that have evolved distinctly from the common root. As far as curriculum construction, the chain of command, and its impact on programs, enrollments, and facilities for reform are concerned, at least four patterns can be pinpointed in the comparative panorama.

The United States, France, England, and the Soviet Union are distinct models of curriculum control. These countries share enough of the common heritage to make variations from the root meaningful. Each has vested the direction of its policies in a special group of men. The constitution of each group has in turn affected school programs, enrollments, and the policies for reform that each country undertakes.

CONTROL BY THE PEOPLE

The educational systems of England, France, and the Soviet Union are sufficiently different from one another to make it difficult to juxtapose them as a group to the United States. But there is one characteristic that all three share and in which they differ from this country. In the United States what is taught in the schools is in theory determined by the people as a whole, and in actual practice, by a large and heterogeneous fraction of the total population. By contrast, in England, France, and the Soviet Union, what is taught is set down by the minority of the nation. In these three countries, supported by old traditions or by new theories of what the ideal society should be (both of which they have themselves developed),

small groups of men formulate the content of education for all. In France, England, and also in the somewhat special case of the Soviet Union, these men usually have advanced education.

In the United States, by contrast, men of high education participate only in the process of curriculum formation.³ They advise, persuade, and receive considerable hearing (which fact they often fail to appreciate adequately); but they must share the power of determining what is to be taught with people who often do not view education in the same light. Men in business, labor, and local government, parents and pressure groups, all share equal power but are often not academically oriented. Professors in teachers colleges and publishers of textbooks, who have a most direct influence upon the curriculum, must forever keep in mind the wishes of these groups. Most academic-minded people consider this dependence a great weakness of American education and yearningly look to European practices as a desirable solution. On the other hand, it has been argued that European schools have suffered ill effects from an overdose of intellectual domination and that the American model is a safeguard against the monopoly of a minority.

The estimate of the over-all effectiveness of the European systems of control as against the American depends thus on one's attitude toward the monopoly of educated men in curriculum making. In Europe it results, for better or worse, in clearly defined programs of education. In England, France, and the Soviet Union, the content of the school curriculum reflects what educated men can do, like doing, and consider useful as preparation for college and for life. In these countries the curriculum, with obvious variations and exceptions, is almost uniformly academically oriented. The subjects taught are absolute criteria to which pupils are upgraded.

In the United States, however, the subject matter is made to yield before the more varied character and interest of the policy makers. The mixture of practical and academic offerings reflects the compromise between the two groups in each community. There are fifteen major subject groups taught in the high schools of the United States and they comprise over two hundred variations of course titles.⁴ In each of the forty thousand odd school systems the curriculum reflects what the teachers were taught in colleges of education and in their frequent in-service training courses, what the administrators and publishers of textbooks consider workable and appealing, what the people, especially the boards of education they elect, consider desirable, and what various pressure groups can force the schools to teach. Many struggles between the left and right political wings, between religious believers and nonbelievers, and between young and old

take place while curriculum policy is being formulated. The academic minded press for a level of instruction that would make smooth the transition from high school to college; the practical minded are concerned with providing training for the jobs that await the students who are not going to college. The actual school program is an alloy of these pressures. Each party to the compromise forever attempts to improve its position, and the resulting tensions have made a clear-cut and stable educational policy difficult. But American education, with its virtues and faults, is a mirror of the nation. Its problems reflect directly the qualities and the shortcomings of its people. One approves of American education if one believes, for good or evil, that large groups should participate in setting the standards of the schools. One does not if one believes that educational programs need to be formulated and interpreted by the few who have special insight. In the latter case, it remains to choose the men who have insight. To this problem each European country professes to have found the best, although different, solution.

CONTROL BY CIVIL SERVANTS

To say that the educational systems of England, France, and the USSR are determined by an academic-oriented minority and therefore are intellectually dominated is all that can be said about their similarities. The teaching of definite and established subjects, largely by the lecture method, continues to be the main common educational feature of European education. But neither the social composition of the policy-making groups, nor the plans of study they formulate, nor the administrative machinery through which policies are enforced bear any marked resemblance to each other. A comparative review of these areas supplies three useful variants of cultural and social circumstances in which intellectually-directed education has established itself.

In France the educational administration is rigidly centralized and thus virtually in the hands of career *civil servants*.⁵ To be sure, these civil servants, the directors of departments in the ministry of education, the inspectors, the rectors of the academies, were once teachers or educational administrators at lower levels. But they no more identify with school-teachers than the superintendents of schools in the United States, who are also recruited from the profession. Themselves the successful products of the exacting and rigidly selective educational system, the French administrators are stubbornly dedicated to its maintenance and perpetuation. In their hands is a centralized machinery of control originated by Napoleon.

It provides powers to legislate uniform curriculum; it gives life and death control over the selection, salaries, and promotion of teachers; it furnishes compelling legal supervision over the financial outlay, even though school buildings are mostly financed from the funds of the local communes. Through that machinery professional men, to the almost total exclusion of the public, enforce a tough school program.

Even in primary schools French youngsters are given subjects designed to develop their intellectual capacities. Drawing or handicrafts, singing, gymnastics, or recreation occupy only one-third of the time. In secondary public schools, upon which program the curriculum of the private schools is also based, only about one-fifth of the total weekly time is dedicated to such subjects. The seven-year curriculum provides for a continuous study of French, one foreign language, history, geography, mathematics, and physics. The available choices allow for optional Latin in the lower two grades and for substitution of a second modern language for Greek in the senior grades. Classical language, modern language, science, and economic streaming allows for some variety in the number of hours in a few subjects. Mathematics and science occupy on the average one-sixth of the time in the curriculum except in the upper three grades of the modern language and science stream where they are studied roughly half the time. In this way, strictly circumscribed by the administration, the French schools serve the concept of *culture générale*.

CONTROL BY POLITICAL LEADERS

In the Soviet Union educational administration, with the exception of higher education, is not part of the all-union government. Nevertheless, Party supervision has *de facto* placed it in the hands of major *political leaders*. In each republic, whether federal or autonomous, a separate ministry of education manages its own centralized school system.⁶ At the level of federal republics, these systems are theoretically independent of each other and are allowed to display some measure of free initiative. The ministers of education and the heads of country and town districts are selected overwhelmingly, however, from among Party members, and Party members in key positions are overwhelmingly men with higher education of one kind or another. A direct executive supervision of the Party over the schools is not seen or mentioned openly except for the presence of Pioneer or *Komsomol* organizers, who sometimes also serve as teachers. But the Party-oriented personnel policy (which often drafts nonteachers for top educational posts) ensures the virtual identity of programs through-

out the Soviet Union. All ministries simply copy the precedents established by the ministry of the Russian Federation, the largest union republic, which alone maintains a policy-making and executing Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

As a result, although brought about by indirect enforcement, the Soviet curriculum is substantially traditional and unified. Even in special ballet, music, and art schools, in the schools for the handicapped, and in the evening schools for urban and rural youths, strenuous attempts are made to achieve fully the prescribed general education program. In the old curriculum that held unchallenged sway until 1955, children studied Russian language and literature and mathematics, first as the 3 R's, and then as subjects, for the full ten years. They took history for seven years, geography and foreign language for six years; their substantial program in science has already been described.⁷ Class schedules were changed in 1958, but the new school program is also nationally determined and rigorously pursued under national controls. Completely in the hands of political leaders, the Soviet system does not need the device of total administrative centralization to achieve its objective. Those objectives, though in different ratios and for reasons different from the French, are also governed by the total acceptance of only one concept, *obshchee obrazovanie* (general education).

CONTROL BY TEACHERS

In England, even though certain powers of the ministry of education are growing, education is almost completely decentralized. Decisions involving the curricula are almost all in the hands of an influential though socially unprominent elite of *professional teachers*.⁸ The local education authorities submit to the ministry of education development plans for approval, observe the rules on teacher certification, and are guided by the ministry-negotiated official schedule, the so-called Burnham scale, of teacher salaries. In return, local authorities receive national funds that help to defray as much or more than one half of their current expenditures; they can also obtain professional advice and educational publications from the ministry's inspectorate. But in matters of curriculum, methods, and texts, not only headmasters but teachers also are actually autonomous. England prefers to rely for its standards on university entrance requirements, teachers' associations, and the compelling cultural traditions.

Hence there is no uniform curriculum in England, but only a uniform level of achievement. Even in the dominant grammar school, whether

public or private, pupils though subjected to a purely college preparatory curriculum do find scope for specialization, especially in the sixth form. In spite of this atmosphere of freedom, however, the curriculum does in fact vary little from school to school. In primary education there was a period of enthusiastic progressive experimentation, but the enactment of the selective examination for the grammar school at the age of 11-plus has tended to return at least the junior primary school (as against the infant school) to the fold of formal training. In secondary grammar schools, the study of English language and literature, Latin and one foreign language, geography, mathematics, chemistry, and physics has become firmly entrenched. The proportions of time spent on each of these subjects vary as does also the somewhat more generous proportion allotted to games, gymnastics, singing, and fine arts. Only religion, taught according to the approved syllabus, is a compulsory subject for all schools. To Americans, steeped in the tradition of freedom, the informal pattern of curriculum determination in England is familiar. But unlike in the United States, it results in a uniform liberal education for gentlemen; proposed, achieved by consensus, and maintained (without legislation) by the teachers who are either themselves "gentlemen," or who are powerfully influenced by the ideals of a gentleman's education.

The comparative survey of European educational systems affords thus a unique opportunity for observing the same subject-centered methods of instruction in different administrative configurations. The American system, though based on a different principle of control, exhibits some basic similarities to each of these systems. Americans inherited the tradition of free local administration from the English. They hold their zeal for organizational efficiency in common with the French. Their pride in scientific progress links them to the Russians. In spite of these similarities, American education differs from others precisely because it is not controlled by a minority. The four systems share a common history and their characteristics are overlapping and interwoven, but they are distinct models nonetheless. Controlled by different groups of men, they have also evolved different patterns of procedure.

CONTROL AND GENERAL AIMS OF EDUCATION

The character of the groups in power has determined first of all the general aims of education in each country. Every educational system of Western culture tries to develop mind, body, civic pride, and moral uprightness. The peculiar difference of each system lies not in the values

that it teaches but in the priority that it gives them. It is not an accident that the central ideal of each national school system can be found upon examination to be also the central ideal of the group that controls it.

France has long been called *la république des professeurs*. Indeed, through provisions unique to herself, professors in France are civil servants, and civil servants are at least potentially professors. A glance at higher education in other systems reveals in most countries a measure of independence of the universities from government administration. England has a pattern of independent colleges and universities directly linked to the Treasury through the Universities Grants Committee; the United States is a loose system of private colleges side by side with state universities dependent on their legislatures; the Soviet Union has separate ministries for higher education under federal authority, and education under republic authorities. In France there is no suggestion of independence. In no other basic model outside France (and the modified versions in Germany, Italy, and a few others) are universities completely integrated in the state school pattern. Only in France are rectors of universities also titular heads of academies through which the whole educational system is administered. There is little distinction in intellectual caliber or prestige between professors and higher civil servants in other agencies of the state.

This fusion of the professional and the clerical has relevance for general aims of French education. The heirs of the French Revolution set supreme value on the exercise of intellect. Clear, cold, analytical thinking, deep learning for its own sake, defiance of ready-made and imposed systems of belief—these characteristics of French culture speak clearly from thousands of schoolbook pages. The emphasis on culture, brilliance of mind, elegance, and things spiritual permeates every facet of French life. With it goes a certain inflexibility of the administrative mind and a somewhat intolerant pride of place on the part of the aloof *fonctionnaire public*. In the educational perspective, thanks to the emphasis on reason, one sees glimpses of children admonished to be *sage*—wise, not good; one also sees specifications for successful department prefects described as “having to be able to state their thoughts clearly when they wish, and to appear to state them clearly on other occasions.”⁹ Whether with tender regard, for *esprit*, or with a cold insistence on emotionless speculation, the civil servants of France have committed the school system to the pursuit of reason.

The English, on the other hand, concentrate on training character. The ideal of a gentleman—serene in moral certitude and uprightness—

was born before, has survived the Puritan Revolution and has never lost its vitality. Civic responsibility, inner moral coherence, and observance of what is "done" and what is "not done" characterize English schools and the teachers who dominate them. In the better private and national schools and in the older universities the teachers are gentlemen in the social as well as in the moral sense. At least since Thomas Arnold's days it has been they who have molded the youth of the establishment into the ethical-intellectual pattern required by the culture.

Very quickly the schools themselves became symbols of English culture. In the days of rapid industrial change their stately Gothic halls have become the mainstay of the traditions of "nice living." In less favored institutions of mass education, teachers make up through moral fervor and observance of ritual what they lack in social background.¹⁰ The English teachers set the tone and assign priorities to educational virtues.

Intellectual learning, too, is primarily looked upon as desirable *behavior*. English education is overwhelmingly devoted to teaching the right responses. Even at their worst, in the maze of pretentiousness and affectation, the principle of "appearances" is upheld. Concerned with the stability of their society, institutions, and, in the older days the Empire, the English insist that men above all be predictable. What has always been a classroom concern of teachers everywhere has become in England a national concern and priority.

Soviet education, again, emphasizes social cohesion. The October Revolution imbued the Russian people with the fear of hostility and a sense of isolation from the outside world. They responded by banding together, so vigorously as to put in peril the very individual welfare which the Revolution purported to defend. One cannot help noticing the strong feeling of unity and commitment in the Soviet schools. Nor can one avoid the feel of the invisible hand of the leaders behind the scene. The ideals of collectivism, service to society, obedience, industriousness, these are paramount in a state coiled for a breakthrough. By Marxian definition it was up to a small self-perpetuating group to maintain such emergency tensions.

The whole spectrum of Soviet education reveals the design of the central planners. Contrary to persistently held notions, such planning is most evident in the fact that Soviet curriculum does not emphasize any branch over another; the only common theme is the need for collective effort. The school plan follows the call of society to stress science, but the planners make sure that a respected place is left to humanities. The schools are devoted to activities of the mind, but the authorities strive to make

certain first that such activities are practically applicable, and second that room is left for sports and artistic endeavor. Education is widely held to be the tool of indoctrination. Actually, however, calculations have revealed that in the USSR 37 percent of school time is devoted to civic education, while the American schools commit 45 percent of school time for this purpose.¹¹

What the Soviet leaders hope for from the schools is not blind obedience but *commitment* of pupils. Like the Americans, they consider their truth to be "self-evident." They believe the acceptance of their doctrines to be synonymous with enlightenment. Theirs is a problem of continuous reeducation from the past traditions of self-interest and from the present temptations of egotism. Since the very methods of membership selection for the Party ensure that the leaders are the Communist avant-garde, educational policy-making seems devoted to the closing of the ideological gap between full-fledged Communists and the lagging population.

The American schools have their own priority—the development of the individual. Born in a Revolution, as in the countries already described, the central ideal of American education emphasized individual interest, with controls vested in the community of the people. Great pluralism and flexibility resulted from so diffuse a premise.

It is not a coincidence that in comparison with others, the American curriculum is the least subject centered. Intellectual control and an academic-oriented curriculum obviously go together. In the absence of the former, American institutions have evolved away from the systems bound by this correlation. Instead, American schools have concentrated on sparking in their pupils an urge toward continuous creativity. It came to matter less what men studied as long as they dedicated themselves sincerely to the task that absorbed them. It was this permissiveness that released hidden mental and manual energies in men who hardly suspected they had them. In C. P. Snow's words, the country reaped the benefits of "vigor" and it braved the dangers of the disappearance of "rigor" from its scholarly enterprises.¹² Insofar as human yardsticks could emerge in an educational scene affected by such variety, they had to reflect the values of a society in which change is normal. The "most improved" pupil had to find his place and perhaps in time to overshadow the "best" pupil. In academic procession professors who simply "know" their subject, must learn to march behind their colleagues who "add" to that knowledge.

American education was designed to get the best out of everyone and to do the best for everyone. But the optimism generated by this maxim was somewhat curbed by the fact that the "best" could not generally be

defined. A diverse free system provides the negative liberty of doing nothing as well as the positive liberty of working to the utmost. A noncompulsive system of education can only work if people avail themselves fully of its opportunities. The continuous problem in American education has been to keep motivation high; and thus dynamic society has focused on building into its pupils dynamic qualities of personality.

CONTROL AND MASS EDUCATION

There is a correlation between the type of men in control of the curriculum and the kind of curriculum they legislate. There is also a connection between the wishes of the controlling group and the general theme which the cultures so controlled pursue. The nature of the group in control also determines the numbers of students admitted to schools. In fact, it could be argued that all struggles against educational elites are in a sense protests not so much against the curricula they legislate as against the restrictions they place on admissions.

In the future, with advances of technology and better teaching ratios, we may learn surprising things about the teachability of the so-called uneducable. But at present academic curriculum and intellectual control of schools can be maintained solely because the programs cater to those capable of meeting the stiff requirements. The more intellectual the group in power the greater the restrictions. The distinct types of control identified in France, England, the USSR, and the United States register themselves also in the volume of school enrollment.

The French successes in teaching strict subject matter have been based on the fact that extremely small proportions of the total age group are eligible for secondary education.¹³ Before the age of 13, only one out of every ten children attending primary schools is selected to attend the *lycée* or *collège*. Between the ages of 14 and 19, only four youngsters out of ten continue in schools, and only two receive general secondary education. Until 1967 at least, the schooling of most children will end at 14, and the quality of this education is much looked down upon by secondary schools. As described in Chapter 2, France has now embarked upon a series of liberalizing reforms, but it is too early to estimate the impact of these measures. The maintenance of rigid high standards by the ministry of education is responsible for the high attrition rate within the *lycées* and *collèges*. About 45 percent of all candidates for the first part of the final baccalaureate examination fail. Of those who are left, only 60 percent succeed in passing the second part a year or two later. The *grand concours*

for the entrance to universities takes a further toll. The "explosion of numbers" now taking place is changing the picture; but until now of some half a million children in school at 13 years of age, a year before the compulsory school age ends, less than 20 percent graduate and 10 percent succeed in reaching the university. In view of such selectivity, the successes of the French in teaching subjects are not surprising. The high standards of French schools command universal admiration, but French sources themselves complain about the problems the system engenders: tension, overwork, and frustration of rejects; the curious inability of French intellectuals to break through from the theoretical to the practical; and the great difficulty of channeling adequate members into the expanding, but yet inadequate, technical branches of education.

English standards, intellectually somewhat lower than those of the French, are a result of an early separation of potentially academically able children through the grammar school entrance examination.¹⁴ As every year some children are rejected, the hostility of the affected public steadily increases, yet the examination seems firmly entrenched. Only about half of all English children in primary schools are admitted to or request the 11-plus tests. Of these, only about half succeed in gaining admittance to the public or private grammar schools. At present, there are some half a million children aged 14 in school, one year before the compulsory school age ends. About 5 percent of these have a chance of reaching the university, at least pending the recommendations of the Crowther and Robbins committees. Until the controlling elite group adopts and supports such recommendations, England will have a highly selective system of education.

The Russians and the Americans cater to a larger and steadily expanding proportion of youth in school. In fact, certain features of the Soviet system, and certainly the direction it is taking now, bear a striking resemblance to the American heritage. Perhaps because they form an ideological elite, or because a majority are men who rose after the Revolution, Soviet leaders in a sense spearhead the efforts to expand school attendance.¹⁵ At midcentury Soviet authorities could almost substantiate their claim of having achieved seven-year education for all. Their ambition to secure universal eleven-year education, except in major cities, is likely to take another quarter of a century to reach. The goal of the 1958 reform was eight-year education for everyone. The 1961 Party platform spoke again of universal schooling until the age of 18. In rough figures, one out of three youths of the appropriate age group completed ten years of school in 1958 (as against one out of two in the

United States). But only one in ten entered a university or institute (as against one in three in the United States).¹⁶ By 1961 these figures rose to 50 and 20 percent respectively.

To reconcile their stand on uniform academic secondary education and an opportunity for all at the same time, the Russians have long claimed, not altogether unconvincingly, that all children, given the full attention in school and at home, can achieve success in a general curriculum, in spite of differences in ability. But it cannot be a coincidence that as the range of its education expanded the formal content of the Soviet curriculum began evolving into practical directions. In the Soviet Union, too, there is a significant correlation between types of programs offered and student enrollment.

It is doubtful, in fact, whether the widely praised, strict Soviet curriculum of the Stalin era operated in any but a traditionally selective school system. Judging by results, it is difficult to distinguish between sincere commitment and mere lip service on the part of Soviet leaders. Even now there are probably cases of youth in remoter rural areas leaving school after only four years. Until 1958, by Khrushchev's own admission, no more than 80 percent of youth were at school at the age of 14.¹⁷ Further, "until 1954, substantially less than 10 percent of the pertinent age group completed Soviet primary and secondary schools."¹⁸ When this ratio shot up the new reform forced a substantial proportion of the 15 to 18 age group into evening schools. Doubts have also been expressed about the success of the Soviets in graduating over 80 percent of pupils enrolled in upper secondary schools. Prompting in classrooms, favorable grading by teachers who are blamed for their pupils' failure, extensive coaching for examinations, and above all the frequent inability of Soviet students to relate what was learned in theory to outside practice (especially in foreign languages) are a few of the results observed by visitors and deplored by the Soviet authorities themselves.

Similarities between American and Soviet education cannot be firmly established as long as the Soviet system is more selective than the American. It is a frequent habit of those who set off European and American education to ignore the differences occasioned by the volume of enrollment. Such differences cannot be overlooked when quality of programs is compared. If the Soviet schools do offer universal education in the future, this factor may well affect the standards of instruction and the controls that maintain them.¹⁹ "Dilution" or "diversification" (depending upon the point of view) will inevitably come as the ability

range of pupils expands and as technology forces upon the schools more flexibility.

With 93 percent of all 14-year-olds in school and 61 percent of 17-year-olds, to use Conant's conservative figures for 1958,²⁰ the United States has long found that mass education and elite control cannot easily be made compatible. Since even with tight national control the Russians have not been able to hold the line in favor of straight academic offering, with diffuse control and a mass of students amounting to nearly 90 percent of the 14-17 age group, Americans have been even less able to pursue such policies. In the United States the average, the practical, the men of action have been given power accorded in other countries only to the highly educated. Endowed with the vote, high standards of living, self-confidence born of success and freedom, and a voice in the making of school programs, the masses, silent elsewhere, have moved to transform the traditional concepts of education and to adapt them to their own range of vision. The task of making culture universally available without debasing its tone and the duty to keep up with the expanding transformation from unskilled labor to skilled—these are the great challenges in the American future. It is not an accident that as the country braces itself to the task, Americans who evince just concern for higher academic standards find themselves forced to urge more national participation in policy making. But as the successive failures to pass legislation for federal aid plainly indicate, they are overwhelmed by the mass defenders of traditional local rights.

PRESSURES FOR REFORM

Sound academic education goes with intellectual control, but mass education does not. Strong evidence suggests that insistence on a stiff formal academic program could, in the past at any rate, maintain itself only if coupled with selective recruitment. There is also, it seems, some correlation between the type of elite in control and the degree of selectivity in school admissions. When such recruitment is controlled by civil servants or teachers, selectivity is likely to be greatest. Politicians, even under Communist regimes, are more sensitive to mass demands. Mass-controlled societies obviously yield to the masses.

The present trends everywhere are slowly forcing the elite controls to give way before the demands for mass opportunity. As each European country yields to agitation to extend its educational opportunities, its problems begin to resemble those that American education has always

had to face. Of course, the American system paid the heavy price of pioneering in education for all; other countries may, as the United States and Germany did when England invented and developed the railways, borrow the essence without copying the mistakes. Nevertheless, the critical educational literature in the countries affected is beginning to read rather like the American literature. On the one hand, there is widespread comment by the defenders of the status quo about the less able students who not only cannot fulfill but actually "debase" requirements. On the other, there are increasing and stormy pressures by the attackers of the establishment to reform the curriculum in the direction of more practical orientation. These attacks are directed against the controlling group and seek to weaken its hold on the schools.

In England the 1944 legislation brought the first tripartite legislation of secondary education for all. The plan called for extending compulsory school attendance to the age of 16 and part-time to 18 and to build up the nonacademic wing of modern schools and the so-called "Further Education" colleges. The residuum of the school population not selected for the grammar or technical stream had been placed in these modern schools in which the curriculum was meant to be geared to the practical needs of the pupils. Two decades of this policy ended with varying success. By and large the failure of the teachers to adapt the curriculum to practice and their continuous desire for upgrading to grammar school standards has disenchanted many and lent strength to two alternate proposals. On one side strong voices have urged the expansion of technical education. A system of such education crowned by national special skills colleges (for example, the National College of Horology) and by university departments of science might challenge the supremacy of the grammar school. On the other hand, the renewed proposal for comprehensive schools is aiming at not only weakening but abolishing separate academic schools. The grammar schools and the education for "clerks" which they foster are accused of being a danger to England's economic future. At the same time, a steady increase of the power of administrative agencies with the ministry of education at its helm is beginning to cut away the traditional supremacy of teachers over the curriculum.

In France, as described in Chapter 2, the current decade is witnessing the attempts to enforce the reform act passed in 1959, just as the decade before 1959 witnessed persistent battles to enact it. France is moving toward compulsory school attendance to the age of 16. An early effort to start secondary school pupils in progressively oriented

classes nouvelles has brought, like the English modern school experiments, more disappointments than success. But new efforts, centered on the full-scale technical education up to baccalaureate, are expected to offer the general schools some competition. In the latter schools on two occasions the entrance and graduation examinations had to be readministered as the result of a shocked outcry at their severity. University entrance has now been made possible without a baccalaureate after suitable private study or correspondence courses. In the universities, faculty and student demonstrations illustrate continuing protests against the financial neglect of the government, which above all is accused of ignoring the bulging increases in student enrollment. Though results are uncertain, educationally there is no doubt that the country is in ferment. The traditional work of French general schools, their curriculum, and their restrictive entrance practices are being challenged. The august civil servants bent on preserving the status quo are being pushed both from outside and inside the schools.

In the USSR, in this discussion the country most strongly affected by the swelling tide of students, the '50s were a decade of continuous experimentation. Because no direct protest is allowed against the leaders, and because they favor reform, the unrest reflected in *samokritika* columns were directed against particular officials or failings of the schools in general. By 1957, 50 percent of schools in the Russian Federation were on a new program, which abolished logic, reduced time for Russian, history, language, and mathematics, and introduced workshop practices, practice in industry, and home economics. By 1958, 50 experimental schools now on an eleven-year program provided, in the uppermost three grades, three days in school and three days at work in the factory or *kolkhoz*. Most of these features went into the 1958 reform act, which decreed a wholesale transformation of schools in favor of polytechnization.²¹ In the universities since 1958, up to 80 percent of the places could be reserved as priority for candidates with two years' work experience, military service, or graduation from technical schools. While using every means to funnel off to production the surplus applicants to the overcrowded universities, the Soviet Union has also been unable to avoid expansion of the enrollment and the opening of new universities.

Thus the walls of restrictive education are crumbling everywhere. In all countries, as in the United States, the danger now is not that the academic subjects will dominate but that they will be engulfed. The merits of a liberal education are no longer unquestioned. The curricula of France, England, and the USSR cannot be cited as evidence that the

awakened masses support the ideals held by the best of the controlling elite.

Indeed, many of the features that some Americans view as strong points in foreign education are considered weaknesses by the very countries concerned. In reverse, many of the weaknesses that are decried in the United States are admiringly copied abroad. It is not merely an accident that on visiting a new American school recently, this writer was proudly shown the chemistry laboratory, "which we are sure is as good as anything the Russians have," while two weeks later in a Moscow secondary school he was equally proudly taken for a ride in a driver education car, the pupil behind the wheel and the instructor beside him glowing, "Now you can see that we are as advanced as you Americans." One cannot dismiss this incident as simply an example of the blind Russian desire to *dognat' i peregnat'* (equal and overtake) the United States in everything. Even now, when driver education has become the whipping boy of American education, it would be interesting to ask a representative sample of Americans which they would rather have their children learn, to spell correctly or to drive carefully. And if the answer is both, which more? The answer to this question would illustrate the popular tenor of American education.²²

All educational systems are moving toward practicality. The age of the common man has put a premium on the common man's concerns. As C. P. Snow said:

It is all very well for us, sitting pretty, to think that material standards of living don't matter all that much. It is all very well for one, as a personal choice, to reject industrialization—to do a modern Walden, if you like, and if you go without much food, see most of your children die in infancy, despise the comforts of literacy, accept twenty years off your own life, then I respect you for the strength of your aesthetic revulsion. But I don't respect you in the slightest if, passively, you try to impose the same choice on others who are not free to choose. In fact, we know what their choice would be. For, with singular unanimity, in any country where they have had the chance, the poor have walked off the land into factories as fast as the factories could take them.²³

The impact of the masses can no longer be treated as one of the variables in the educational scene. It is a constant enough factor to force all other problems of educational organization to find their accommodation around it.

The new role of the academic-oriented educated men, now that

they are pressed to relinquish their monopoly of school policy making, becomes thus one of the central problems of the future. On one side, as Lawrence Cremin has pointed out, intellectuals cannot sit idly by while what goes under the name of popularization is in fact vulgarization. No longer undisputed rulers, men of learning must defend their right to be model setters and custodians of culture. On the other side, the new task for intellectuals, anxious as they must be to preserve the dignity and beauty of the verbal heritage, should be to insure that everyone now seeking educational opportunity is ennobled by partaking in its riches. The mission of the educated as advisers of the masses hinges upon the difficult task of encouraging upward the half-educated.

Part 3

Preparation for Study



Chapter Seven

The Importance of Language

The Case of the USSR

A foreigner who comes to the United States in search of a post in education, and such cases are frequent enough, finds an understandable reluctance among school authorities to employ him.¹ Americans fear that not having grown up in the American school system he will have difficulty understanding the philosophy of American education. And yet when Americans interest themselves in foreign educational systems, a reciprocal concern seems to vanish from their thinking and certainly from much of their writing. All too often they not only do not learn how to understand their neighbor's point of view; they seem to refuse to permit him to have one. By neglecting, first of all, to learn his language, most Americans forget that he speaks not in halting English but fluently with thoughts and idioms all his own. Secondly, by unwise travel, even when undertaken for educational purposes, whatever is gleaned of his neighbor's life is limited to the gilded or the quaint. And lastly, by not making an effort to understand the foreigner's point of view, specialists in international studies seldom succeed in driving a wedge into the nationalistic and racial parochialisms.

Part 3 of this text will be concerned with the above three prerequisites of comparative education in which the student must have sound preparation before he can successfully implement the mechanics of comparative analysis treated in Parts 1 and 2. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the first type and level of difficulty brought about by the failure to know the language of the country under study.

As preface to this discussion of the need to learn languages, one might cite two anecdotes. On June 10, 1961, Queen Elizabeth II took the salute in the Trooping of the Color ceremony marking her official birthday. The proceedings were televised in color throughout the Soviet Union. Asked for an explanation why this event should be chosen to represent Britain in a Communist country, a high British official replied, "I do not think anything will give the Russians a better idea of our democratic way of life than having a look at the queen on her birthday, surrounded by some of the most gallant troops in the world." Some Britons, commented chivalrously the *New York Times*, appeared unable to follow the official's reasoning, but none questioned the splendor and the propriety of the occasion.²

Harold Berman of Harvard University tells of another incident, equally significant, though in reverse. He was visiting a Soviet court while a case was tried in which a woman sued her enterprise for a substantial amount of back pay, since she was, she alleged, wrongfully dismissed. While the court recessed to deliberate over the verdict, the woman in a loud hysterical voice proceeded to tell the audience about the wrongs done her by her employers. Some Russian onlookers tried to quiet her by pointing at the American and expressing anxiety about the impression the foreigner will have from the incident. "I can say what I like," shouted the woman. "This is not the United States."

Such mental blinkers, sometimes surprisingly worn even by the highly educated, are the greatest obstacle to true international understanding. In a large number of cases, wrong judgments are caused by an inadequate knowledge of the language of the country under analysis. If the British official could habitually read Russian sources or speak directly with Russians on a man-to-man basis, he would know how profoundly many of them believe that democracy is inherent in communism; and, schooled as the Russians are about "feudalism," how ridiculous it is to think that royalty and displays of troops protecting the queen represent democracy to them. If the Russian woman knew English, even scant contact with English books or newspapers or casual conversations with English-speaking tourists would have wrenched her from the mental isolation in which freedom of speech and America are paradoxically anathema to one another. The lack of knowledge of the language bedevils understanding between peoples everywhere. The punishment imposed upon the builders of the tower of Babel continues to be exacted from mankind with unrelenting severity.

To professionals exposed to daily contacts with a foreign culture,

the need to learn the language is obvious. Increased contacts through international exchanges widen the realization of this importance. On the American scene, more language courses offered in high schools, the policy of the Kennedy administration to appoint ambassadors who speak the language, the training required of the Peace Corps, the cutting back of foundation grants for comparative research to people who do not know the language of the area, these are all signs that the United States is emerging from the age of linguistic isolation.

But only a dent has been made by these efforts in the vast indifference of Americans to the advantages of language training. Even among those going abroad for professional purposes, the cavalier attitude persists. As reported by Edward Weidner, for example, in connection with the evaluation of the work of American professors abroad:

While professional competence, adjustment, and dedication were the most essential qualities for success of the program, other qualities contributed to the same end and were found in favorable quantity in fewer instances. For example, in Asia and Africa fewer than one in ten professors had fluency in the indigenous language, and most had limited knowledge of the area. Even in Latin America or in French-speaking areas, a minority of American professors had fluency in the second languages adequate to lecture in it. A large majority of the professors were on their first overseas assignment and lacked experience in technical assistance.³

One can demonstrate the role of languages in international studies and hence in comparative education by concentrating on the example of the Soviet Union. Mutual misunderstandings, though present in all cultural contacts, are particularly acute and certainly highly explosive between East and West. American-Soviet relations suffer from two types of disabilities, each of which can be directly attributed to an inadequate knowledge of languages. Americans do not learn Russian and Russians do not learn English in sufficient numbers and depth. This impedes even initial understanding and throws out of focus the cultural exchanges now undertaken. Secondly, and in a more positive way, now that the Iron Curtain is penetrable from the West, a knowledge of Russian would pave the way to a deeper knowledge of Soviet life, not only to its faults but also to its richness, not only to its gross outlines but also to its delicate nuances. And serious comparative research in all areas requires an unhampered access to primary sources and firsthand informants. In the Soviet area,

in which access to sources is bristling with political difficulties and technical delays, research published in other foreign languages is thus also of primary importance. All this is obvious, but the obvious is so persistently ignored that it needs to be repeated over and over again. It is madness further to impede the flow of information by less than adequate familiarity with languages.

BASIC LANGUAGE MISUNDERSTANDINGS

Kenneth Boulding of Michigan tells of an incident that illustrates well the first point, the quite basic misunderstandings arising from the language barriers. At a youth conference, American and Soviet students were discussing the philosophies of education of their respective countries. When an American stood up to say that the most important thing for a man was to be able to "think for himself," a Russian at once retorted that this was wrong, that the important thing was to "think for others." Even this harmless shaggy dog story gives the flavor of the impact of cross-cultural contacts. When one comes into touch with a foreign culture, language barriers compound the problems of adjustment severely and in a multiple fashion.

Few people in America understand the full meaning of this point. Not long ago this writer had occasion to coach a group of students en route by sea to Europe on an Experiment in International Living. The students were to spend a month behind the Iron Curtain, and being a wonderfully earnest group, had spent most of their time on shipboard studying the language of the host country. But since this was to be their first experience of living under communism, they spent the rest of the time considering how they were going to defend their own political beliefs, what they were going to say to convince their hosts, and so forth. It did not easily occur to them that their hosts (they were to be quartered individually with families) would at best have a vocabulary of 500 or 1,000 words of English, while the hard-earned vocabulary of the hosts' language that they themselves acquired en route did not exceed 250 words. With such vocabularies one can order breakfast or exchange pleasantries about the weather but hardly entertain a political discussion. Few people are aware of this; few catch the slip up when the newspapers, as in February 1961, carry photographs of President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev in Geneva reputedly "discussing" the problems of world peace.⁴ Since the photograph does not include an interpreter, it is perfectly

obvious that the two leaders, far from discussing anything, are simply trading smiles.

It is easy to dismiss the necessity for knowledge of languages on the grounds that it can be circumvented by the use of interpreters.⁵ Even when excellent interpreters capable of simultaneous translation are available, this method of communication is clearly less satisfactory than an impromptu discussion in one language. The advantage of quick exchange and repartee is completely lost. The delicate nuances and undertones of language are never caught. Anyone who has listened to the televised record of Khrushchev's appearance at the National Press Club in 1959⁶ or Castro's speech before the United Nations in 1960,⁷ both of which were simultaneously translated, is aware of the blurring of clarity and the irritation on the part of the viewer that the simultaneous translation entailed. Even putting aside the problem of not understanding the colorful native idiom in which each leader expressed his thoughts, it was impossible to avoid being annoyed as one's attention was continuously distracted from the face of the speaker and the tone of his voice to the voice of the translator in the background. On the other hand, proceedings that are not simultaneously translated take twice as much time as single-language discussions, since each sentence must be spoken twice. The breaks in the continuity of the discourse and the general impediments to the free flow of conversation are a hundredfold.

Altogether too many people seem lightly to assume that these difficulties do not exist. Not the least, statesmen and researchers seem ready to forget the circumstances of their contacts with Soviet colleagues through barriers of interpreters. Upon their return from abroad many report their interviews in the vein of "I told him," "he answered me," "he attacked," and "I retorted," whereas in fact nothing but a lame exchange of opinions, interrupted by the voice of the interpreter, halting, correcting himself, and in any case speaking with a feeling and intonation of his own, occurred. The celebrated kitchen debate between Vice-president Nixon and Premier Khrushchev during the American Trade Exhibit in Moscow in 1959,⁸ for example, judging by the reported transcript, must have in reality been no debate at all, only something like a high school play rehearsal, with each participant delivering his piece and then rolling his eyes about to observe the impact of his words while the words themselves and the answer to them were being translated. The authors of the novel *Fail Safe*⁹ make a careful effort to impress upon their reader that the fatal conversations between Kennedy and Khrushchev took place

in which access to sources is bristling with political difficulties and technical delays, research published in other foreign languages is thus also of primary importance. All this is obvious, but the obvious is so persistently ignored that it needs to be repeated over and over again. It is madness further to impede the flow of information by less than adequate familiarity with languages.

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through an interpreter. But even there, caught by the drama of the story, the reader soon becomes oblivious of this fact.

The job of translation is in any event an extremely exacting intellectual activity. It is rendered particularly desperate in the case of participants unschooled in the use of interpreters, who spin out interminable sentences. Even the best interpreters tire quickly; their efficiency rapidly diminishes after the first half hour. What is true of good interpreters is truer still of mediocre ones. The misinterpretations, understatements, and poorly rendered sentiments in such cases are incessant. An interpreter not wholly at home in both languages with which he is working, or not entirely used to switching from one frame of thinking to another, will inevitably "edit" the translations, will substitute easier words for the more difficult, or shorter for longer sentences. Since the majority of interpreters are less than topnotch, most international exchanges take place through imperfect translations.

Even competent interpreters are tempted to improve upon the conversation to be translated. Some things they hear may offend their tastes or make them worry about the impression the country they themselves represent will create. In the National Press Club interview, Khrushchev replied to one of the more irksome questions with a Ukrainian ditty, a practice at which he is extremely adept. This one was about rats, and the interpreter translated it right out of existence. During this writer's visit to Soviet Central Asia as a member of the first United States cultural mission in 1958,¹⁰ a high official of the ministry of education, a rather belligerent Communist began his speech of welcome with a long sentence extolling Lenin's revolutionary activities, praising his total uprooting of the Tsarist heritage, and commending his "bloody" fight with capitalism. This was a typical piece of Communist oratory so often indulged in by young proletarians who have not yet learned to temper their revolutionary zeal with culture and decorum. The interpreter, a cultivated person with a university education, translated the whole paragraph simply as, "Lenin effected a great many changes in Central Asia at the Revolution."

The difficulties caused by language barriers are likely to be as serious in educational contracts and research as in other areas. The sensitive generalizations that go with the study of foreign cultures and education are particularly liable to misrepresentations and abuse. In education, as will be shown in Chapter 9, the record in most nations is short of brilliant, and by compensation national pride in this realm is at its touchiest. Judgments passed upon schools abroad demand such delicacy that a standing joke is that if one wishes to be considered an eminent

comparative educator a safe rule is never to say anything bad about foreign schools and little good about one's own. In education, where breaches of communication and recriminations are all too easy, the failure to know a language is often instrumental in straining further the delicate lines of discourse.

One example will suffice. In 1958 a delegation organized by the Comparative Education Society visited the Soviet Union and as a result published a book which this writer co-edited.¹¹ In the introductory chapter, authored by him, he took particular care to phrase himself in such a way as to do the least possible damage to the cordial relations between the society and its Soviet hosts. It was therefore with particular chagrin that he found the book (and his own share of it) severely attacked by the Soviet press.¹² On his next visit to the USSR in 1961, the writer sought to find out what displeased his Soviet colleagues and was quoted three passages from the book, which throw an interesting light on problems of understanding across the language barriers.¹³

The first sentence quoted, from the Preface, dealt with the efforts the Society had made throughout the preceding year to include in the visiting group people who spoke and understood Russian. The editors wrote with regret that in this task they were far from successful and that only a dozen participants knew the Russian language. They then went on to say:

Much of the interviewing had, of course, to be done with the help of Russian interpreters, but the presence in our group of people who understood Russian insured some system of double check on their work. As a consequence we avoided such common misunderstanding as putting the American interpretation on the Russian word for *school* or confusing the adjective Russian with the word Soviet.¹⁴

The Russians translated the phrase "double check" as "invigilation" and asked indignantly, "Is it fair to come and accept our hospitality and visit our schools in friendship, while for the whole year beforehand you prepared to spy on our translators?"

The second example provoked the Russians even more. In the chapter on secondary education the following passage, about one of the participants who had observed chemistry classes, occurred:

The observer commented that he never saw any teaching in the Soviet Union that was not rapid. Part of the reason, he felt, was

attributable to the fact that in the Soviet Union teachers have little time to prepare their lessons, and, obviously practice stimulus-response teaching. . . . No one thinks or reasons; he merely responds like a parrot.¹⁵

What the observer obviously meant was that there was too much rote learning in Soviet schools. But the word "parrot," translated as *papuga*, has a much stronger, in fact offensive, meaning in Russian. A *papuga* is a stupid bird that screeches the few words taught it. According to Russian thinking, then, the writers (and the editors who printed it) insulted the whole Soviet school population by calling them *papugi*.

But the strongest outburst of indignation was reserved for the third sentence, which appeared in the first chapter, authored by this writer. The sentence was:

The extension of education to those destined for manual occupations has brought new pressures to bear as the rank and file of common men acquire larger social and educational ambitions.¹⁶

It was pointed out with indignation that in this passage the author has "given away his true feelings." Since, according to the Russian interpretation, the writer believed that some people are predestined to a life of menial labor while others are to lead a privileged existence, there is no common ground by which the differences between such a view and the Communist view could be bridged. Evidently the word "destined" was translated literally and understood to mean "predestined." A careful explanation in Russian was needed, and once made, it smoothed ruffled feelings.¹⁷

These examples speak for themselves. Inadequate knowledge of the language is a stumbling block to cross-cultural contacts in any field of learning. The old insistence that people of all countries should learn English in order to be able to communicate with each other no longer holds water. The Russians in our example did know English, but in East-West exchange all parties must know both English and Russian reasonably well to avoid breakdowns in communication. We may never be able to iron out the doctrinal differences between East and West, but there is little leeway for differences arising from language problems. It is largely because of the language difference that Americans and Russians do not know much about each other. Meanwhile, bereft of even basic conversational contact, statesmen on both sides are playing a

dangerous blindman's buff with an opponent who, in part at least, is a figment of their own imagination.

LANGUAGE AND POSITIVE KNOWLEDGE

The fact that knowledge of the language prevents misunderstanding has not only negative significance. For the purposes of true communication and research, equally important is a second, positive function; a knowledge of language lets one in on the intimate secrets of the nation under study. Language is one of the keys to a spiritual union with a country, as travel is another. It is good education, too. To be privileged to read each and the same day about current events, not in one but in two or more languages, not from one but from several national points of view, is a lesson in humility and understanding not easily matched anywhere.

The rewards of such study of language begin early; even a knowledge of single words improves vision and sensitivity. How much could be gained if every American knew that the Russian word *krasny* means not only "red" but also "beautiful." Or, that the word for "dropout" is *otsiev*. To speak in English of "dropouts" from school, a Russian pointed out to this writer, implies somehow a disrespect for the children involved. To say that a child "drops out" is to imply that he is being jettisoned like the ballast from a ship to lighten the load. In English the term implies expendability of the children; to a Russian the English words drop-outs and droppings are unpleasantly close. But in Russian the word *otsiev* depicts a seed sown on good soil but gone astray. It is by an accident that it has fallen upon fallow ground. Schooling is the sowing of a good harvest, and *otsiev* is the unintended waste of seed, the misdirection of a well-meant effort. After learning such Russian words, can one still be positive that Soviet education is a blunt and brutal instrument for moulding the mind, a crass endeavor to suppress all good in man in favor of base enslavement? Sometimes the mere knowledge of single words is capable of supplying the means to outbalance prejudices.

As Harry D. Gideonse has put it:

Words are the currency of intellectual exchange, and they reflect the changing influences of history, geography, and human passion . . . the Russian language has two words for liberty. The first, *svoboda*, is the dictionary equivalent of freedom; the second, *volya*, carries overtones of disregard of social and community constraint.

It suggests escape from society and it cannot be used in contrast with tyranny, since a tyrant enjoys *volya* to the highest degree.¹⁸

Lack of knowledge of a language can be a powerful obstacle in discussion and argument. For example, the Russian word *obiekktivny* simply cannot be translated as "objective." In a lecture that this writer delivered at Moscow University he spoke in favor of applying relativity to comparative education. According to this view, each country should be judged by its own professed philosophical and educational goals and by its success in attaining these goals. In this way one can try to avoid biases of personal interpretation discussed in Chapter 9. Amazingly, this lecture was attacked by the Russians as not "objective." To be *obiekktivny*, it was explained, was to be "in conformance with an ideology."¹⁹ It could be Marxist, Catholic, or capitalist ideology, but it must form a general central standard, so that progress in each country can be measured against it. Relativism, according to the Russian argument, is subjective, and hence unscientific.

Revealing insights derived as a result of knowing a language are gleaned in a variety of ways. A few personal experiences can perhaps illustrate. In 1961 this writer attended a performance of Pogodin's *The Aristocrats* in the Mayakovski Theater in Moscow. The play was about the inmates of a concentration camp in the late '20s. The first act presented odd characters, criminals, prostitutes, speculators, and political offenders lolling onto the stage in various costumes and moods. By the third act they all marched off joyfully under a Red flag to dig the canals. After the play I asked a girl who turned out to be a young Yakut doctor on an assignment in Moscow how she liked the play. She said she liked only the first act. Wasn't she in sympathy with the goals of communism? Oh, yes, but today was her day off. It is hard to imagine a spontaneous response like this being formulated in a foreign language.

Even more important for study abroad than direct conversation are the casual comments and opinions not expressly intended for the listener. To be alert to these is hardly eavesdropping; wanting to get to know a nation really well cannot be construed as an act of hostility. On the day Iuri Gagarin was honored in Moscow,²⁰ this writer was in the crowd that demonstrated through Red Square. Nothing can match the thousands of comments overheard when the columns of demonstrators were being shaped up by mounted police—the ordinary melee of elation and gripes peculiar to any crowd, but seldom reported from Russia. To hear "we need bread not rockets," for example, is a useful corrective to

the picture of the people as reported by Soviet authorities and by foreign visitors, always joyful, always at work, always full of enthusiasm and devotion to their cause. A most incredible incident occurred right under the mausoleum of Lenin. An excited crowd, delirious with joy, strained and screamed upwards to cheer Gagarin, who was flanked by Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. "Long live Gagarin, *Geroi Gagarin!*" the cheers never seemed to cease. Then suddenly someone shouted, "Long live Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev," and literally about a hundred people around, within Khrushchev's hearing, responded—not with cheers but with laughter. Could it be that right under the mausoleum of the founder of the Revolution, in the midst of a national celebration, and within ear-shot of the leader trying hard not to hear it, the Russians cheer Gagarin but a suggestion to cheer Khrushchev is a joke? Such an astounding experience could never happen to a visitor who did not understand Russian.

In comparative education, perhaps more so than in other branches of learning, full command of several foreign languages should be the ideal. How else can one understand the whispered directives of principals and teachers in foreign schools to take the visitor to see the best classes? It is a mockery of the fundamental canons of scholarship for non-Russian-speaking researchers to visit Soviet classrooms (other than those conducted in English) and then later to pass themselves as experts on Soviet teaching methods. Because the aim of comparative education is to look upon the school system as a window on the soul of a nation, the researcher cannot render justice to the structure without an awareness of the intimacies, hopes, and dreams within. There is a difference between simply avoiding misunderstanding and having a deep, thorough feeling for the vibrant life of a foreign people. Students of foreign cultures must appreciate that languages are the key to this sensitivity.

Anyone can cite examples of good works written by people who did not have a background in the language of the country analyzed. It is quite possible for someone to have spent twenty years in New Guinea and know its schools inside out even though managing to stay immune from a knowledge of the local language. A famed anthropologist might write about the Russian people, as Margaret Mead did,²¹ without a knowledge of Russian; about the Japanese people, as Ruth Benedict did,²² without a knowledge of Japanese. Thanks to the several excellent translations available, English-speaking scholars can make serious inroads into Soviet documents without knowing Russian.²³ Hundreds of such examples would in no way limit the force of the language postulate. That an osteopath can

cure intricate bone ailments tells us nothing about the requirements of training an orthopedic surgeon.

In the forever-expanding horizon of educational interchanges, there needs to be, besides an army of amateurs, half-amateurs, gifted generalists, or other *ad hoc* workers, a hard core of tough, seasoned, trained specialists. To maintain such a core, a body of recognized requirements must be evolved in comparative education. A seal of approval for those aspiring to be numbered among specialists should include language skills. The Russians have recognized this by instituting experimental schools at which language experts are trained almost entirely in a language of specialization, beginning with the second grade. The loss of potential that occurs when Americans, a great many of whom have at least one foreign grandparent, fail to utilize their natural heritage should not be permitted to continue. Given their history, Americans should be a nation of polyglots. They will certainly not rise to the challenges calling out to them from every corner of the globe if they permit students of foreign cultures to be less.

Chapter Eight

The Importance of Travel

The Case of Colombia¹

The path of training along which a student of comparative education must be coaxed needs to include travel and residence abroad. Like a knowledge of foreign languages, the familiarity born of travel is one of the prime requisites for sound comparative analysis. From travel flows understanding. To meet a culture in daily contact and in a thousand unforeseen situations is to acquire the feel for the tenor of life that is hard to match otherwise. To see the schools in actual operation—even if only on their inspection best—is to become sensitive to the nuances of prestige among men and institutions. Travel has always been recognized as broadening for everybody. In education a common thread runs through the wanderings of medieval itinerant scholars, the young English nobleman's Grand Tour in the eighteenth century, the Japanese Meiji reform missions, and the current American exchange and foreign aid migrations.

Obviously a short visit and prolonged residence abroad are quite different, but properly used both have a place in the methods of comparative education. Workers in the field are expected to have resided or visited for extended periods of time in the country or countries of specialization. This helps them to master the language at an advanced level, and permits them to follow closely and continuously not only the changes of educational organization, or even of educational philosophy, but also all other relevant facts of politics, economics, culture, and society. In areas of specialization, comparative educators are expected to acquire a deft touch, to sense the spirit of the culture. They must be able to define and interpret

the educational system and its development in the light of their intimacy with the fabric of society.

It is seldom possible to acquire this high degree of rapport with a culture without expatriate experience. Where such experience is impossible, as was the case until recently for all but a handful of Americans in the Soviet Union, several visits should be aimed at. No one should venture to speak or write on foreign education on less than such authority. The admiral who after two weeks of general government mission reports to Congress as if he were an expert on Communist education; the school superintendent from a metropolis who with foundation support plans a stay of two days each in nine European cities to study school government; the university professor who publicly declares after a visit to four European countries (where he stayed only six days in each and only during school vacations) that the music instruction in western Europe (without differentiating among the dozen school systems of that area)² is better than in the United States—such people must be ruled out of order, however distinguished their character and educational achievement. Without experience, as one writer put it there is

the danger common to most travelers of comparing unlikes: looking at the worst in the country visited in terms of the best at home, or comparing one country's middle-class groups with the other's intellectuals. And most travelers, of course, move in a public world—hotels, streets, restaurants, shops, trains, airplanes. Even when they make an effort to talk to people, and to see behind the public façade, few have an opportunity to see much of private life beyond an occasional invitation to dinner. Before they acquire a sense of the whole, an understanding of background, it is most difficult for travelers to evaluate the significance of what they see.³

Workers in comparative education are also expected to be familiar with the general school outlines of some 250 countries outside their areas of specialization. It is here that short-term travel can greatly supplement reading. In the countries of "nonspecialization," comparative educators are merely collectors of source materials. The steady volume of educational literature, chapters on education and culture in works of a more general nature, unpredictable sources varying from official documents to travel books—they must have a nodding acquaintance with all these, and this means being constantly on the lookout. At any time *The Ladies Home Journal* may publish an article on Soviet kindergartens, *The Harvard*

Crimson may print an interview with a Japanese educator, Edward R. Murrow may film a documentary on American attitudes toward segregation in schools. Unlike the students of more sedentary disciplines, who can master their field by simpler means, comparative educators are doomed to a life of hunting; they must continuously sniff out, collect, and catalogue. In matters involving countries in which they do not specialize, their methods resemble those of lawyers and doctors. When the need is for information beyond their immediate competence they must know where the relevant sources are likely to be found and what they have to offer. But precisely in the areas in which only a quick and superficial consultation of readily available printed sources is possible, there is danger of receiving false impressions from reading. As shall be demonstrated, visual experience born of travel can do much to correct such misinterpretations.

In many cases travel can be much more than a mere supplement to academic study. It can shatter neat mental images of foreign cultures derived from other sources. A live contact, a "taste" of a living nation can be a revelation. At firsthand all pieces of the puzzle fall neatly into place; the skewed imagery somehow rights itself. As Harold Temperley of Cambridge said for the benefit of historians, it is one thing to study the medieval village from Seeböhm or Vinogradoff. It is quite another to travel to Macedonia to *see* a feudal village intact in operation.⁴

To travel abroad discerningly is to acquire a vision that will make one sensitive to the difficulties of assuming the role of an educational expert. A few days is enough to make one wonder and perhaps to worry. The easy generalizations that one is so prone to formulate under the impact of other impressions begin to look less certain upon visual contact. One begins to be less sure that one knows much. People no longer all look tall or stocky, fair or swarthy, prosperous or poor. Their language ceases to be an incomprehensible, pauseless chatter; their views and opinions conflict and thus confuse; their educational philosophy and school organization, consistent and original at first, now reveal themselves to be as diverse and as contradictory as any in the world. Whereas remaining at home brings security of conviction, even a short trip is enough to implant bewilderment; but it is from doubts that eventually enlightenment will come.

This lesson is confirmed in the example of travel undertaken by this writer to Colombia. As the visit took just over a week, the account does not in any way pretend to be an authoritative essay on Colombian education. There is a need for greatly expanded and vastly more discerning studies of the Latin American countries, an area painfully neglected in

North American scholarship. The visit did, however, furnish an opportunity for an interesting experiment of a methodological nature. It cast light on the significant disparity between the value of quick *reading* about a country and *seeing* it. The account that follows demonstrates the misrepresentations by the native authors and the misconceptions read into them by the foreign reader, the particular combination which, without the redeeming force of travel, often blights comparative research.

COLOMBIAN EDUCATION IN PRINT

In an area of comparatively small interest, such as Colombia, a student in search of quick information at home will find only a few sources available. He will discover at once a somewhat outdated pamphlet published by the United States Office of Education.⁵ He may chance to see a mimeographed report on rural schools supplied by the same office.⁶ The United Nations and other international agencies will yield here and there a chapter in a survey or an account of last year's happenings in a year-book.⁷ Noneducational sources too may yield something on education or on matters relevant to its foundations.⁸ Even if one can handle the Spanish sources immediately within one's reach, at best only a few new items will be added.⁹ All that is readily available in print in the United States pertaining to the development of Colombian education since World War II will require not much more than a few days of concentrated effort. The reader will gather many facts. He will find few qualitative analyses. For the most part he will be forced to make his own interpretations from reading.

Such reading was undertaken by this writer as an experiment immediately before his departure to Colombia, and the mental image derived from it was not startling. It appeared to be a country which, for understandable reasons, was less advanced than the United States but geared strenuously to the process of catching up. Situated on inaccessible plateaus between the *cordilleras* of the Andes, Colombia seemed unable until the invention of the airplane to conquer the distances and difficulties of its terrain. Descriptions of a large-scale plantation system yielding coffee and bananas, mineral wealth in emeralds, gold, and silver, and hopes for discovering new deposits of oil gave the impression of an atmosphere of economic optimism and a mood of expansion in spite of accounts of persisting poverty. There were reports of religious intolerance toward Protestant minorities, but the country was overwhelmingly Catholic and thus free from major religious tensions. Racially, the small numbers of

pure Negroes and Indians and the absence of prejudices, evident in the large degree of race mixture, indicated a country free from problems of this type. In politics, a military dictatorship was in power in 1956, but it appeared to be of a paternal variety, and its history in the country was sufficiently checkered to make it seem not too stable. Socially, one could perceive clear class distinction and many open references to "high society," but they seemed no greater than the corresponding distinctions in other European or Latin-American countries. This was a country of ancient Spanish culture, priding itself on being the most advanced on the continent and keenly interested in keeping its intellectual concerns alert and growing. Its liberal temper in defiance of conservatism has had a long tradition. The sympathies of its people with the democratic form of government were increasingly evident. Its zeal for further progress was obvious.

In education too the impression gained from reading was that the country was keen on expansion. The venerable colonial university tradition appeared to have been steadily maintained and expanded until a country of some 12 million people now has over 20 universities and senior colleges. The secondary school system (or at least the private schools) was vastly enlarged and government reforms were aimed at a relaxation of the *bachillerato* requirements to make it more suitable for larger numbers of people. In the realm of primary education, the statement that "there is no justification for noneducational expenditures while a single child still remains to be educated" blazoned one of the recent reports.¹⁰ In 1954 Colombia had approximately 15,000 primary and 650 secondary schools, and its total school enrollments comprised about 80 percent of children within the compulsory school age limit. The national education budget increased by nearly 40 percent between 1953 and 1955. Parallel with the work of the central government, local authorities and private bodies worked hard to increase the number of available classrooms, to improve the training and salaries of teachers, and to extend the system of radio schools for adults in an effort to eradicate illiteracy.

There were, of course, serious shortcomings in the educational program, a normal situation for an underdeveloped country. Illiteracy prevailed among nearly half of the total population and almost two-thirds of the children did not attend school to the compulsory age. Almost half of the official primary schools were *escuelas alternadas*, which boys and girls attended in shifts for half a day or even on alternate days. An overwhelming number of secondary schools were private schools and open only to children whose parents could afford the high fees. There were grievous shortages of classrooms and teachers. Local governments were greatly

handicapped by having to finance most school building and maintenance and all of the salaries of teachers. The political riots of 1948, when the murder of a liberal leader, Jorge Gaitan, touched off an uprising against the tottering Conservative government, showed plainly the undercurrent of poverty, despair, and dissatisfaction throughout the nation. The Communist and guerilla unrest in certain sections of the country testified to the fact that this unrest has not abated.

The more comprehensive the reading the greater the amount of detail on the credit and on the debit side of the educational picture, and the greater the accuracy with which one can perceive the nature of Colombian problems. The reader will assimilate all this information with ease. Even if he questions the accuracy of some of his sources, he will think himself able to make allowance for undue optimism and exaggeration. But he will not be able to escape the final impression that the multiplicity of problems and internal difficulties are the only reasons for reported shortcomings of the educational system, and that because or in spite of these the fight waged against poverty and ignorance of the widely scattered mountain-dwelling population is intense.

What the reader will probably not realize is that he has been interpreting the realities of Colombian education in terms of North American educational themes. He has accepted the belief that people everywhere consider education desirable, that they want as much education as possible, that they know that more education will lead them to a better life, that maximum utilization of talent and optimum conditions for its exercise are everywhere the unchallengeable bases of a happy society and sound education. All these are deeply ingrained educational criteria in the United States. From the moment the unwary traveler discovers with shock that the airline whose leaflet assured him that "the traveler from the United States has no trouble in making himself understood" has deposited him in a country where even at the airport and in the hotel a lack of Spanish is a severe handicap, his observation of the Colombian people and their education is likely to be full of surprises.

PERSONAL CONTACT

One has to be in the country, talk to people of all classes, thread through churches and market places, and visit the crowded cities and isolated *pueblos* in the hills to discover that not so much what one has read but the frame of mind in which one has read it was utterly at variance with reality. The almost subconscious basic assumptions in the United

States do not hold, or at best hold only partially, in Colombia. Only by being in the country can one slowly come to the realization that the central theme of the whole educational enterprise is not that mass education is desirable but that it is undesirable. Quite pervasively, although the attitude is not expressed in words, education is considered harmful and unsettling to the people. The motions through which official agencies go to convince the world, domestic opinion, and themselves that they should have education for all are sometimes a product of pipedreams, sometimes a clever cover-up for inactivity, but always a postulate that breaks down the minute it is confronted with realities.

A general attitude toward education is not that it should be plentiful and available, thus raising the economic level of the country, but that it should be restricted and unavailable, thus avoiding the unsettling of the established modes of life. After a short visit a statement of such a principle can hardly be an unwavering generalization. It is so startling that one tends to sidestep it and to search in the surroundings for facts with which to refute it. The evidence, however, is too suggestive to be ignored. The principle of "less education less trouble" is familiar to historians of aristocratic societies of the preindustrial era. Americans have become used to the proposition that the elite societies of our time propound as we do the principle of mass education but, unlike us, from Frederick the Great to Lenin, have devised ingenious machinery to indoctrinate and control the thinking of the literate masses. Nevertheless, the principle of the less education the better has survived in countless contemporary societies. It survives in Colombia, where neither the leaders nor the people have seemed until recently to be ready to depart from its ancient precedents.

It takes only a few days for evidence of this to start accumulating. One is prepared by one's reading to expect everybody to talk about expansion, buildings, teacher training. One is staggered by the realization that literally nobody is talking about these things. Universities, old and new, and prominent private secondary schools are pointed out with pride on every tour through city and country. But not only is one not shown public schools officially but upon private inquiry one finds that there are not many to be seen. One discovers, at least in the capital, that there are practically no primary school buildings. Most classes are held in rented rooms in buildings used for a variety of purposes. In the country one has difficulty discovering them at all. Even in the model village, the center of a growing system of schools by radio, there is a schoolhouse for the kindergarten, and imposing institutes have been built for the training of auxiliary radio monitors, but the primary school for boys consists of a shabby classroom

tucked away at the back of one such institute. The visitor soon becomes accustomed to seeing swarms of city and country children roaming the city streets, trading, performing, begging. Upon inquiry he discovers that the majority, including some 13-year-old mothers, do not attend school at all.

In secondary education as well, there seems to be no indication of expansion on a national scale. In the past decade the government succeeded in founding some 130 secondary schools with carefully defined programs, selected teachers, and pupils recruited as scholarship holders, almost wholly from poorer families. Further expansion of these schools cannot take place, however, as long as social custom declares it undesirable for anyone "who counts" to send his children to the public schools, and as long as championship of public secondary schools remains in competition with the church. All public schools, of course, are run on religious lines completely satisfactory to the hierarchy. But the majority of private schools are directly owned by the church, and such a substantial source of revenue is difficult to relinquish. The identity of interest of church-owned and secular private schools has placed all of them in a sheltered position in spite of the occasional attack by the church on those of the Protestant faith. Their number now exceeds 500, and they occupy some of the handsomest, newest buildings. Anyone attempting to expand public schools runs thus the risk of being quickly branded a heretic or an enemy of the church.

The proposition that no education for the people is the best safeguard against trouble is naturally attractive to the old families who still rule the country in alliance with or as members of the army and the church. In a country that is self-sufficient agriculturally and solvent through surplus exports, most of what the ruling group needed from abroad to maintain their comforts could until recently be imported without difficulty. The economic interest of this group lay, therefore, not in improving the purchasing power of the nation but in keeping the wages low and barring the popular force from gaining political authority. Maintaining a low level of education is an ideal implement of this goal. The drive for the improvement of general conditions has thus no economic and social buttress. It stems purely from humane and philanthropic attitudes championed by the intellectual middle classes.

But the alliance of reformism with intellectual forces is not a happy one in view of the traditional values of the Spanish heritage. Education in Colombia belongs by definition not to everyone but exclusively to those already possessing culture. The culture traditionally thrived in sheltered and select cloisters and was bestowed only on men of distinction and refinement. One finds also that the quality of culture is traditionally not practical

but spiritual; its theme is not application but depth of reflection, not grasp but soaring. This of course creates an excellent environment for the erratic, intricate individual genius. It also makes it impossible for others to check on the quality of his thinking. People feel rather than think, and tradition protects their right to do so by surrounding their contemplation with respect and approval. Intellectually the Spanish culture makes generous provisions for the philosopher, the thinker, and the dreamer; it has to pay the price of accommodating itself to the charlatan, too elusive to be understood and exposed. The country's intellectual leaders are thus likely to be impractical dreamers or skillful frauds. Colombian education has on the whole neglected the qualities of organizing talent, efficiency, and perseverance. One looks in vain among the now educated upper and middle classes for a real focus of initiative from which powerful stimulus to educate all people might come.

The character of the culture affects not only those who benefit from the restrictions of education but also those who lose by it. There is no real pressure from the common man for wider educational opportunities. The major contact of the peasant is with the church, and the church, like the culture which it largely created, emphasizes spiritual values. Reflection and perfection rather than action characterize also the culture of the *campesino*. Living in adobe huts (often carefully whitewashed and thatched), lavishing labor on his picturesque garden, carefully garbed for market day in his *ruana* blanket and *sombrero* while his women wear identical hats and long black shawls, the peasant shows his culture through his simple dignity and elaborate courtesy of language and manner handed down through generations. Compared with these traits, formal schooling has significance to him only insofar as it removes illiteracy—a social stigma in a culture that treasures book learning. Otherwise, schooling is considered a hindrance in the villages hard pressed for early child labor. A lack of communication and transportation facilities, as well as the lack of education, contributes to great deficiencies in diet and hygiene. But poverty is less grim amid the green hills. It is only the city concentration that brings out its full horror. There is thus little incentive for the peasant, just as there is little motivation for his more fortunate countrymen, to move education away from the sanctioned usages of centuries.

THE CHANGING PICTURE

There is only one qualification to this picture. If Colombian education at all resembles the American, it is because it has been exposed to American influences. No society—certainly not one that must depend on

the airplane for its main lines of communication—could remain isolated from the upheavals of an industrial era. The need for machinery, the desire for modern buildings, roads, automobiles, and armaments established a new situation. Wealthy Colombians returning from foreign travels and wealthy resident foreign colonies created a demand, indeed a passion, for the produce of industrial civilization. There is thus being grafted to the still solid core of old beliefs and practices a whole set of puzzling new forces that jar the calm security of conviction of a society constructed along preindustrial lines. Like most other nations that wish to emulate industrial countries, Colombia has not yet discovered the formula whereby it can catch up with progress without wanting and working to catch up.

As would be expected, the arrival of industrialization has had a significant impact upon the two pillars of the old order, the class hierarchy and the church. As regards the former, industry has as a matter of course called forth a new urban middle class and proletariat. The new demands almost overnight created a great shortage of highly skilled personnel. There is an acute need for engineers, geologists, architects, and also for teachers, economists, and doctors. This characteristically has had the effect of placing great stress on the expansion not of the whole system but of the universities only. To finance and at the same time apparently to protect them, a semi-independent *Fondo Universitario Nacional* was created. The universities are the one sector of Colombian education in which there is real liveliness. But the increase in the number of students created new social problems. It resulted in the strengthening of the numbers and influence of the intellectual middle class. It is precisely the threat of new liberalism that has forced the old families in alliance with the army to impose upon the country one of the first military dictatorships in Colombian history. The frequent student riots and ferment in the universities continue, however, to be the source of instability. As the economic realities of the old situation are obliterated, the maintenance of educational and social monopolies is put in jeopardy by the swelling of the middle ranks committed to the philosophies of the industrial age.

The large numbers of peasants lured to the cities by higher wages and the superficial attractions of city life lend further strength to this movement. The attraction of industrial progress is well illustrated by the story of the village priest who showed a movie, the first his parishioners had ever seen. Before starting, he had to cajole his audience to face the screen rather than the camera. But after the showing, in response to his suggestion that a gift of a few chickens might start them toward acquiring their own movie theater, he discovered that 800 chickens had been delivered

to his doorstep. This is the actual story of the beginning of economic recovery of the village of Sutatenza, but it also demonstrates the initial motivation through which increasing numbers of farmers may decide to move to the city. Far from their villages, herded into dingy slums, unschooled and uncared for, the people of the towns are an appalling picture of poverty and an easy target for exploitation. As the crowded cities sprawl, and the polo clubs sell and move out, the incoming peasant begins to lose his initial country air, his clothes accumulate the city grime, his peasant cautiousness and poise give way to city feverishness and the pursuit of fast profit. His income by rural standards gets bigger, and his general intellectual grasp gets higher. But he is not given any formal training; instead, he must rely on the limited skill he can learn on the job. Here is fertile soil for potential explosion. And yet the real effort of the country continues to be in the field of the universities, while primary and secondary public education receive what amounts only to lukewarm lip service.

The changes that have taken place within the church are perhaps in a Latin-American situation even more significant. The Colombian church, like the Spanish church, has traditionally been ultraconservative. But industrialization has brought social problems that demand solution. To the attempts of Marxism to find the answers, the Catholic Church has responded with a competing position.

The encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI, respectively, inaugurated a new policy that significantly affected the character and purposes of the church in all areas. The clash between the policy of the Vatican in Spain and the faction of Cardinal Segura, culminating in the defeat of the latter in the mid-50s, best illustrates the new trends within the church. In Colombia they have brought about an internal cleavage of conscience and the phenomenon of a traditionally conservative church now inaugurating cautious educational reforms. While on one side the position of the church impedes the expansion of secondary education and does little to awaken interest in primary education, on the other side initiative within the church has devised ingenious and promising means to make up to adults the neglect they suffered as children. In particular, the system of schools by radio devised and built up by a young priest, José Salcedo, in the mountainous and remote village of Sutatenza, represents a forward-looking and tightly organized program of community development of an almost unlimited potential.¹¹

It is an exciting venture. A master teacher in the central studio

instructs from a standardized textbook in the three R's and offers a smattering of home economics and agriculture. Some 300,000 pupils ranging in age from 4 to 64 gather in off hours, mostly in family groups around a small battery-run radio. From the same textbooks and charts as the teacher has, and with the assistance of one of their own number trained as an auxiliary in special institutes in Sutatenza, the pupils learn how to read and write, how to count, and how to improve their homes and farms. Within an eight-month course most pupils achieve semiliteracy and many go on to more advanced courses constantly devised by an alert staff in Bogotá headquarters. The schools by radio run by the *Acción Cultural Popular* are the most singular achievement of Colombian education and its major claim to fame. One must note, however, that this is still purely fundamental education. No attempt to open opportunity and to promote talent in keeping with the march of industrialization has as yet been devised in Colombia.

Between the efforts of the *escuelas radiofónicas* to bring literacy into the home, and the two-year, one-room, rural primary schools in more fortunate *pueblos* lies the total story of education received by the great majority of Colombian people. Only since the removal of Piñillo Rojas from the presidency has there been any prospect that change will be made in this situation by a nation now awake and seemingly interested in making the change. In spite of written professions to the contrary, the past holds few such efforts, few plans of reform magnificently conceived and boldly carried out. At least this seems to be an inescapable conclusion from the data gathered from one week of firsthand contact with a little-known culture. In the absence of the availability of thorough field research or a large-scale system of checkups, or exhaustive comparative statistics, prior printed evidence can do little to buttress such conclusions. Only on-the-spot, patiently gathered opinions of the Colombian people form its tentative basis. But it does seem remarkable that the first impressions obtained from reading about the country and those gleaned from cursory travel should be so utterly at variance. That there is an urgent need for more careful field research abroad and greater multiplicity of intercultural contacts would seem to be an inescapable conclusion. At least, in comparative perspective, even brief travel demonstrates without question that the apparent similarity between the educational lament of a Colombian farmer who *no puede leer* and the plaintive North American rationalization of why Johnny can't read conceals a veritable abyss that cannot be fathomed only by looking up references.

Not much more needs to be said about the importance of travel.

There are still areas in the United States where foreign travel is discouraged if, indeed, not looked upon as potentially subversive. But by and large one does not need to convince Americans that they should travel as much as one needs to urge them to study foreign languages. The ritual of a European tour is now fashionably established. Travel to other areas of the world is burgeoning. The educational commitment of the American government and of other American groups is also increasing and with it travel for professional purposes.

What needs to be emphasized is care and caution so that these movements do not forever create new Ugly American situations. Careful collation of the experiences gathered from travel with preceding and subsequent reading, a proper marriage of intuitive, qualitative impressions and scientifically-collected data, a vigorous expansion of the study of international education with all it reveals about the nature of cultural contacts, and last, the problems of cultural bias, these are few of the areas requiring further thought and watchfulness.

Chapter Nine

The Significance of Cultural Bias

The United States and England¹

The process of predicting the successes and failures of foreign educational systems has one hidden pitfall. Like all human beings, professors of comparative education exhibit prejudices. These prejudices, which everyone in some way derives from his own culture, are another major block to communication between peoples. They are treated in a separate chapter because they present problems just as great as the failure to learn foreign languages and to pursue foreign travel.

AN EXAMPLE OF BIAS

Interesting evidence of an unconscious cultural bias that came into being in the past few years is contained in two sets of articles. In 1956 Edmund King, in the *British Journal of Education Studies*, published an article entitled "Segregation and American Society."² In 1958, in *Public Education in America*, this writer contributed a chapter entitled "The Race Problem in American Education."³

The two articles, though both written on the subject of race in the United States, were quite different.⁴ The tone of King's article was on the whole pessimistic. He seemed to write from the standpoint of the British high ideal of race equality (this was before the Notting Hill Gate riots). He painted in unambiguous colors the American failure to live up

to this high ideal. He was not denying that school integration both in the South and in the North was another example of the "American dilemma," but he thought that the positive parts of that dilemma, the efforts to resolve the problem, were not free from confusion, obsessions, and prejudice. He felt that the crux of the question is that many Americans do not really believe in race equality. He thus foresaw little chance of improvement in race relations.

The second article was optimistic. It stressed not the ideal but the historical circumstances that made the race question in the United States the reality that it is. It showed how the forces for race equality are rallying, and particularly how Negro self-help is increasing. It made much of the progress already achieved. It expressed much hope for the future. It referred to King's article and thought it too doubting. It concluded by pointing out (repeating the point made by the English magazine *Encounter*⁵) that there are more Negro students in the United States than students in Britain altogether.

Another cluster of articles appeared shortly after, this time on social class and on England. In 1958, in *Educational Forum* this writer published "Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Comprehensive Schools in England."⁶ It was reprinted in the *Journal of Education* (London) in February as "Equal Opportunity; an American Viewpoint."⁷ This article was followed by "A Comparative Approach to Social Status in English Education" in *Liberal Traditions in Education: Essays in Honor of Robert Ulich*.⁸ In response to these articles, King presented in 1959 his "Comprehensive Schools in England: Their Content," in *Comparative Education Review*.⁹ He followed in 1960 with another article, "Comprehensive Schools in England: Their Prospects," in the same journal.¹⁰

Again the opinions of King and this writer differed, but this time almost in reverse. The tone of the American articles was pessimistic. They stated the American high ideal of classlessness and social equality (this was before the publication of *The Status Seekers*). They described the English failure to live up to this high ideal. They noted that under pressure from Labor the English were engaged in recurrent egalitarian reforms. But they argued that these mostly resulted in lip service and hypocrisy. The American writer contended that the crux of the question is that Englishmen do not really believe in classlessness. He foresaw little if any chance of progress in that direction.

King's articles, this time, were optimistic. He stressed not the ideal but the historical circumstances that made the class problem in Britain what it is today. He made much of the progress already achieved.

He expressed much hope for the future. He referred to this writer's work and thought it "overstated the case" (actually he thought it a "caricature," but as editor of the journal in which his articles were published, I persuaded him to soften the blow). He showed how equality in Britain can and has advanced through a series of flanking movements. He pointed out that to advocate a frontal attack on Britain's inequalities would be like attempting to establish a comprehensive school to draw children together from New York's Morningside Heights and West Harlem. He felt the English efforts at classlessness were real and solid even if they failed to satisfy the American "Dewey-eyed democratic purists" (I got him to rescind *that* too).

Here were two sets of articles, the one on the racial issue, the other on the class problem in education. The authors of these articles are reasonably well established in the field of comparative education. They hold doctorates in the discipline, travel and write frequently, and teach their subject at large metropolitan universities. Both have had long periods of residence and teaching in each other's country. Both are by conviction social egalitarians. They are also good personal friends. Neither felt justified to dispute the accuracy of facts adduced by the other, and each respects the other's scholarship. Here were two men with reasonably similar training, background, and attitudes, addressing themselves to identical facets of social equality. It seemed as if all possible variables were thus eliminated, except the variable of writing about one's own or the other's country.

It was in connection with this last variable that there was a difference in emphasis in the two sets of articles. When the Englishman wrote about the United States, he held it up to censure for failing to reach his ideal of racial integration. But when he wrote about England, he emphasized not the ideal of classlessness but the historical difficulties and strivings to reach it. When the American (American of European birth that is, and perhaps all the more zealous American for that) wrote about England, he held it up to censure for failing to reach his ideal of equality. But when he wrote about the United States, he emphasized its advances not its failures. The Englishman was severe on the United States but lenient on England; the American was severe on England but lenient on the United States. Here was a clearly documented and remarkable difference of emphasis, with all other factors being as equal as one could wish them. Here was an example of mild and harsh judgment identical in nature and brought to bear on a similar topic, but exactly reversed in the case of each country according to the national allegiance of the writer.

Why did this difference show itself? The answer is obvious—cultural bias, the plague of comparative methodology, tragic in a discipline expressly dedicated to the breaking down of ethnocentrism, at present a serious stumbling block in a field alive with new and portentous stirrings.

Such cultural prejudice is by no means the only hurdle that the field must overcome. In fact, comparative researchers might count themselves lucky if all their problems could be reduced to this one dimension. As already stated, there are four major sources of difficulties that workers in comparative education face almost wherever they turn: 1) how to collect accurate facts on educational systems; 2) how to apply to them the light shed by basic disciplines; 3 and 4) how to juxtapose and compare meaningfully the relevant materials. But vision bound by cultural biases is not merely the fifth in the row of methodological difficulties. It is a problem of a different order. It is, like all other subjective personality states and pathologies of researchers and writers, a "circumstance" which permeates all of the preceding steps of comparison.

Unconsciously or consciously most people *feel* as well as act according to ethnocentric prejudices. They either accept or reject their own culture, and their judgment of comparative evidence is influenced by this acceptance or rejection. In the simplest cases this produces people who criticize everything abroad and praise everything at home, or vice versa. Most people are justifiably proud, even if boastful, of their accomplishments. But it is in the case of failures that ethnocentrism operates most fully. Some people are tempted to pretend that their weaknesses are really achievements, while others place the blame not on themselves but on their institutions. A recent article in *Harper's*, for example, explained that the American habit of throwing empty beer cans alongside highways is really fine because these cans mark off the edges of the highway to night motorists.¹¹ On the same principle, many Americans who wasted their opportunity for education, and as a result learned little in school, now blame their schools for failing to have taught them. They hold up foreign schools as examples, forgetting that these schools eliminate people like themselves.

But the most common kind of cultural bias can be observed in the defensiveness that citizens of one country carry poised against possible criticism by citizens of another. Thus a Dane meets American praise of the Danish folk high schools with, "Now, now, you are very kind, but there are several things about those schools that need reform, in fact along American lines." But to an American criticism of the Danish schools, he replies, "Mind your own business. Anyway, American education, is there such a thing?" Nations like men are naturally anxious to make a

good impression and naturally sensitive to criticism. Hence Scotsmen ask foreigners avidly, "Which do you like better, England or Scotland?" Hence Chileans are hurt if a foreigner requests beer (Chilean but ordinary) instead of wine (Chilean and famous). Hence Americans take offense if an immigrant is reluctant to take out citizenship papers. Hence Russians ply tourists with the question, *vam nravitsia tut* (do you like it here)? Here is the ethnocentric attitude at its most common.

At the level of research in comparative education, however, cultural bias is seldom as simple as in the foregoing examples. In fact, it can sometimes be extremely subtle by being tied to personal careers and feelings. Comparative educators, native and foreign, train themselves to observe their cultures, as it were, from the "outside." The principle of not taking anything for granted is accepted as resulting in a clearer view of one's culture, but it also is a prompter to the observer to appear as its spokesman and champion. As a consequence, national pride becomes identified with personal prestige, and from there it is but a step to scholarly opinion. The community of scholars in comparative education is something like a world in miniature, very much subject to national conflicts. Thus, for a year after the Suez issue an American could hardly say anything about British education without being accused by some British colleagues of not understanding the British point of view. The atmosphere in postwar Germany and Japan resulted in suspicion of all American comparative scholarship, competence, and motives. On the other hand, the fear of being judged "primitive," or "colonial" prompts Americans to reject uncritically, or alternately to venerate, the merits of foreign education.

In addition, there is another complication. Two iron requirements of the field already discussed are long residence abroad and a knowledge of languages, and these alone bring into the discipline an unusually high proportion of uprooted people, who, through the accident of having been "blown across" the world, have acquired the desired competence. These people cannot help projecting into their comparative work their personal longings and fears. People of foreign birth in America are usually chauvinistically American because they are grateful for the freedom, opportunities, and recognition, as often as not, denied them in their own countries. Somewhat more unfortunately, people of foreign birth in Britain are usually meticulously British, because that more exacting culture has forced them to keep proving the fact of their assimilation. Foreigners in America long to throw in the face of their old countrymen their material good fortune and happiness. In Britain foreigners long for the graduation in the eyes of the natives from, "You

are not *quite* British, are you?" to, "I say, you are *almost* British!" It must be left to the reader to judge how far even this passage reveals this writer's ethnocentric bias. In defense he can only say that he speaks from the experience of personal assimilation in these two cultures. There is no doubt that the problems of such assimilation are important for the study of ethnocentrism in comparative education.

In more ways than one cultural bias results in real difficulties and honest differences of perception. It permeates the whole of comparative education. It determines the nature of research undertaken and the conclusions reached. How cultural bias operates will best be shown by tracing its presence in the categories of methodological difficulty dealt with in Chapter One—collecting the facts, applying the criteria of other disciplines, and setting aside the collected and interpreted material for juxtaposition and final comparison.

DESCRIPTION AND BIAS

The technique of collecting the facts has always been and continues to be the most formidable first obstacle of the discipline. Part of this difficulty stems from ethnocentrism. The study of education in all countries has long been and still is a social Cinderella and as such abounds in materials characterized not by scholarship but by national propaganda. It is not that education as a field does not draw first-rate scholars. There have always been enough idealists among men of talent, and there are enough high posts in education to attract some men of ambition. But education also draws a goodly proportion of second- and third-rate men, enough not only to give the field a bad name but to cause bias as well. As a result, scholarly information about educational systems is usually harder to come by than information that "covers up" educational shortcomings. For example, simple information about the percentages of age groups in attendance at formal schools is notoriously lacking. In most countries one has to go to vital statistics for the total age-group figure and to educational statistics for the numbers in schools. The two seldom correspond; if the first breaks down the youth population into, say, 14 to 18 to 22 age-group categories, the latter is bound to deal with, 11 to 17 and 17 to 23 age groups. Even when educational statistics follow a different age-group breakdown in order to take into account school population at primary, secondary, and higher levels (and sometimes they do not do even that), it is difficult not to blame their compilers; after all

they could list each year group separately thus revealing the actual reach of their educational system.

But over and above ineptitude, the collection of facts is also in other ways marred by ethnocentrism. A recent volume, *Thoughts on Comparative Education: Essays in Honor of Pedro Rosselló*,¹² carried articles postulating a global approach to education and the development of means to assemble international statistics. This would be a good thing, particularly if the number of reputable statisticians devoting themselves to comparative education (there are at present six) would increase. For the time being, however, all international sources rely on reports from national governments. These sources distort information about the schools to present education in a favorable light before their own legislatures, to suit public opinion and professional groups and also for the sake of national pride. In particular, figures related to the operation of compulsory attendance laws and the quality of educational programs are patently untrue. There is concealment, disorganization, perhaps even carelessness, in reports submitted to international organizations.

Facts are also hard to come by through field research, and paradoxically enough they are harder to come by in centralized than in decentralized systems. In the latter, one has to wander from one local system to another in search of random information later to be welded together into uneasy generalizations. But in the former, and that means in the great majority of countries, one can seldom wander at all, and never without the ministry's permission or without a ministry "guide," and seldom without making the local teaching body uneasy lest the ministry be not pleased with the subsequently reported results of the visit. Whatever may be said against inefficiency, corruption, or costliness of the local systems, at least they wear their wounds on the surface where they can be seen and attended to. From the point of view of an educational researcher, it is the educational bureaucracies with centralized powers and national "fronts" to uphold that are the ethnocentric plague, whatever the massed information they give one quick access to.

INTERPRETATION AND BIAS

The study of foundations of education, the second of the enumerated methodological steps, begins when the facts have been collected. As already discussed, the facts obtained must be tested for relevance against broader philosophical and social considerations. As Isaac Kandel put it, the fact that education in science has flowered in Germany in the last hundred

years cannot be treated apart from the rise of German militarism.¹³ There is an intimate connection between education and society, a cause and effect relationship. This means that the comparative educator must ask what light can history, philosophy, sociology, economics, and so forth shed on the educational information assembled.

Here, too, cultural bias can vitiate the process. To begin with, the stage of development of each basic discipline is different in different countries. At midcentury, for example, sociological research in the United States was on balance in advance of that in Britain (the situation may be reversing now). And certainly the latest advances of British sociology seem, with some noteworthy exceptions, to be little used by British educators. This means that when American educators apply sociological methods to the study of British education, they run into such criticisms as being "socially insecure," or overdoing the "class angle," or some such dismissal. Conversely, when Englishmen study American education they tend to minimize the function of the schools as social organisms, a study which must be done of course, in terms of sociology. But since English researchers are well grounded in the humanities, they are quicker to appraise, and criticize, the cultural content of American education. For the same reason, the fact that in 1959 Oxford repealed, and a few weeks later readopted, entrance requirements in Latin—now again repealed—is likely to be interpreted by an American as a social-class problem since the alumni of the prestigious English public schools are coached better in Latin, while many Englishmen will look upon it as an intellectual matter in that it is the result of the persistence of the classicist tradition.

But cultural bias can be traced not only to the degree of *competence* in handling particular disciplines. It is also plain in the degree of *commitment* to such disciplines. Such commitment naturally results from competence, but it may also have a deeper origin. There is a story that when Prime Minister Nehru was asked why his government never acknowledged with gratitude the American loans to India he replied that when a beggar gets alms, Indians consider that the greater benefit, namely the spiritual, accrues to the giver, while only money goes to the beggar. Interpretations of the same educational phenomena would tend to be idealistic in the East, pragmatic in the West. An Asian is always more likely to test the available educational evidence by spiritual criteria, that is to say, by the resources of theology. A Westerner will be more likely to resort to social sciences.

Within the Western traditions Americans, who are in a sense extremists, would counter the British historical approach to education,

that is the emphasis on the preservation of the established canons of scholarship, by an argument that would point to the future rather than to the past. They would cite higher standards of health and increased prosperity as values that are not only instrumental but intrinsic in themselves. But they would join ranks with the British against the argument advanced by the Russians that a concentration on these values justifies materialism and the suspension of an idealistic approach to individualism and freedom. Roughly speaking, the Russians favor an economic approach to problems of education, the Americans, a sociological, the English, an historical, the French, a philosophical. It is clear that the proper study of the foundations of education requires an application of all these approaches together. But because of national psyche, no less than as an accident of training, each researcher exhibits a *penchant malgré lui* for one-sided interpretations. Thus the latest Russian educational reforms, for example, are apt to be characterized in terms of the need for manual labor by the Russians themselves, as an attempt to cut off the overproduction of intellectuals by Americans, as a revival of the tradition of progressive education of the 1920s by the English, and as proof of the decay of Marxism by the French. Overdrawn as this example is, since obviously competent comparative educators will stress all these points, there is little doubt that an approach through only one discipline is responsible for much of the distorted information on education today, and that the accidents of national commitment to an excellence in particular disciplines determine the results of research in the field.

BIAS IN JUXTAPOSITION AND COMPARISON

The last steps of comparative analysis are to set the collected and properly interpreted facts side by side for juxtaposition and comparison. Here purely methodological difficulties are very real. How does one compare the Russian secondary school, hitherto a ten-year school, with the American twelve-year school, especially since the Russian student attends school six days a week, while the American goes five days a week. How does one compare academic performance when in the USSR the schools graduate 30 percent of the age group while in the United States 60 percent are graduated; yet owing to differences in the size of the population, the numbers graduated are roughly equal. One can assemble such information separately in each culture and bring to bear upon it the basic disciplines, both to know its relation to, and to test its importance for, society. But how does one compare such facts in two or more countries?

A graduate seminar at Teachers College, Columbia University, impressed by post-Sputnik representations and misrepresentations, once attempted to make a comparison of American and Soviet teacher salaries. It was obvious at the start that one could not compare salary scales. In the United States, variations from one local system to another, complicated further by special increments, fringe benefits, differences in the length of the school year and in the cost of living were amply matched by the Russian differentiation in salaries according to subject taught, number of class hours per week, geographical location, and level of education.¹⁴ We got around the difficulty by creating representative types of teachers (for example: male, 35 years of age, college diploma, wife at home, two children, teacher of native language in a good metropolitan system) only to stumble next on three different rates of the ruble (official, tourist, and black market); later, on differences in the cost of living; and then on different *ranges* of gratification available for one's money in each country. Finally we seized upon salt as a base because it varies little in market value from century to century and from country to country; all we wound up with was the conclusion that for their respective salaries the equivalent American and Russian teachers can purchase a roughly equal number of tons of salt. There is little doubt, that methodologically speaking, cross-cultural comparisons are still in their infancy.

To such difficulties ethnocentrism adds a further complication. Problems of national prestige impinge continuously to blur one's vision. Should one or should one not grant junior status in American colleges to holders of the obviously strongly academic British matriculation, and if one does, will not the prestige of American high schools suffer? Must the English agree that their Ph.D. degree is not as valuable as an American Ph.D., with its prerequisite extra course work, and if they refuse, will that not damage the Atlantic Alliance? Can the University College of North Staffordshire in England go over to a four-year pattern without having to acknowledge its debt to the American practice, and can Harvard adopt the advanced placement program (3 years of college) and avoid being accused of copying the British? This writer once engaged in a dispute with an English colleague who claimed that the American *full* professor may be equal to an English Reader, but certainly not to an English professor. The latter, as the incumbent of the chair, administers small funds assigned to him and his junior collaborators, hence it was claimed, he is the equivalent of the American head of the department. There is some merit in this argument, especially in reference to cases in which the English chair coordinates the work of several lecturers and thus

matches the American department with its two-score professors. But those anxious not to downgrade the American rank as compared to the English, will be more likely to point out that many English professors coordinate only one or two accredited lecturers and that the chairs in many cases, particularly in the University institutes, are not listed separately as independent entities in university catalogues.

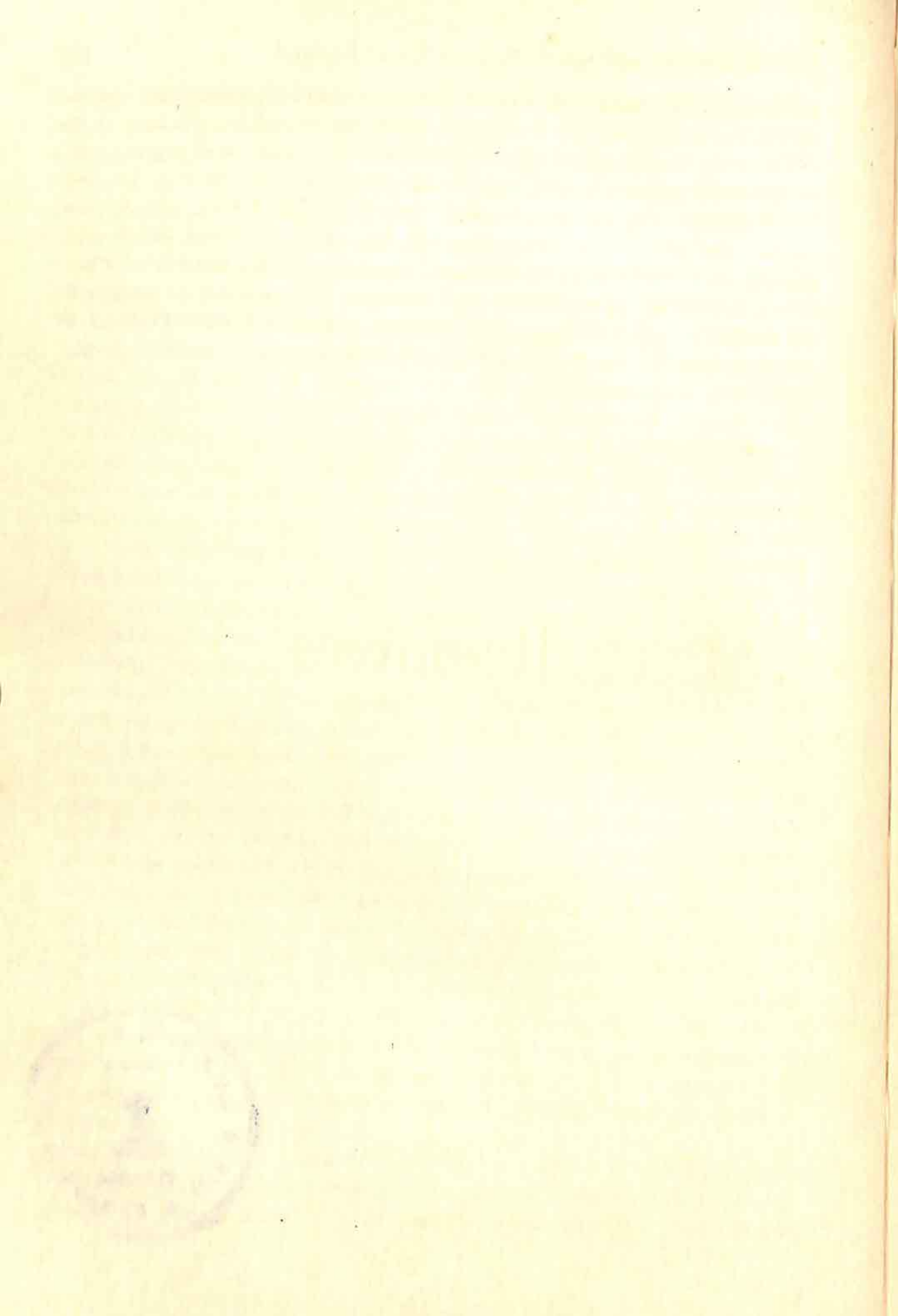
Problems with ethnocentric implications abound in comparative treatment now as they did a century ago when Nordic brains were pronounced heavier and hence superior. And as usual they can lead to honest differences of perception. Outward-oriented cultures such as the Polish or Japanese will unconsciously undertake comparisons designed to prove their own Western character. More self-centered cultures such as the British or the French will be more concerned to prove the spread of their own ideas. Great powers on the decline will sputter with malice, the weapon of desperation resorted to in describing the competitive educational progress of the new barbarians. New countries on the rise will clothe their work in the sheath of nationalistic hatred, or *nouveau riche* brashness, the weapon of defiance against the old establishments.

Can such cultural bias be avoided? Probably it cannot, but it can be minimized. Since international practices and standards are only just emerging, there is as yet no common cultural denominator against which the educational aspirations and actions of the divergent cultures could be accurately judged. Each country is justifiably left to evaluate foreign experiences in terms of *its own criteria*, even when warned by comparative educators that judgment should be on the basis of the criteria of the country under study or on that supplied by their own comparative educators. There remains the fact, however, that the same evidence, even when surveyed by men of similar training and allegiance, appears different from different vantage points. The student must be sensitive to the fact that different "chemistry" is set in motion when he looks at his own country and when he studies practices abroad. He must increase his readiness to acknowledge some measure of accuracy in the appraisal of his own character by others. Better still, he should strive to join forces with them in research. It is clear that a better understanding of both the race problem in the United States and the class problem in England will be reached when Edmund King's testimony and this writer's are read in conjunction.

The unanswered question is whether modern comparative work should be teamwork, as claimed by this writer in the Preface to *Public Education in America*,¹⁵ so that natives and foreigners can, before

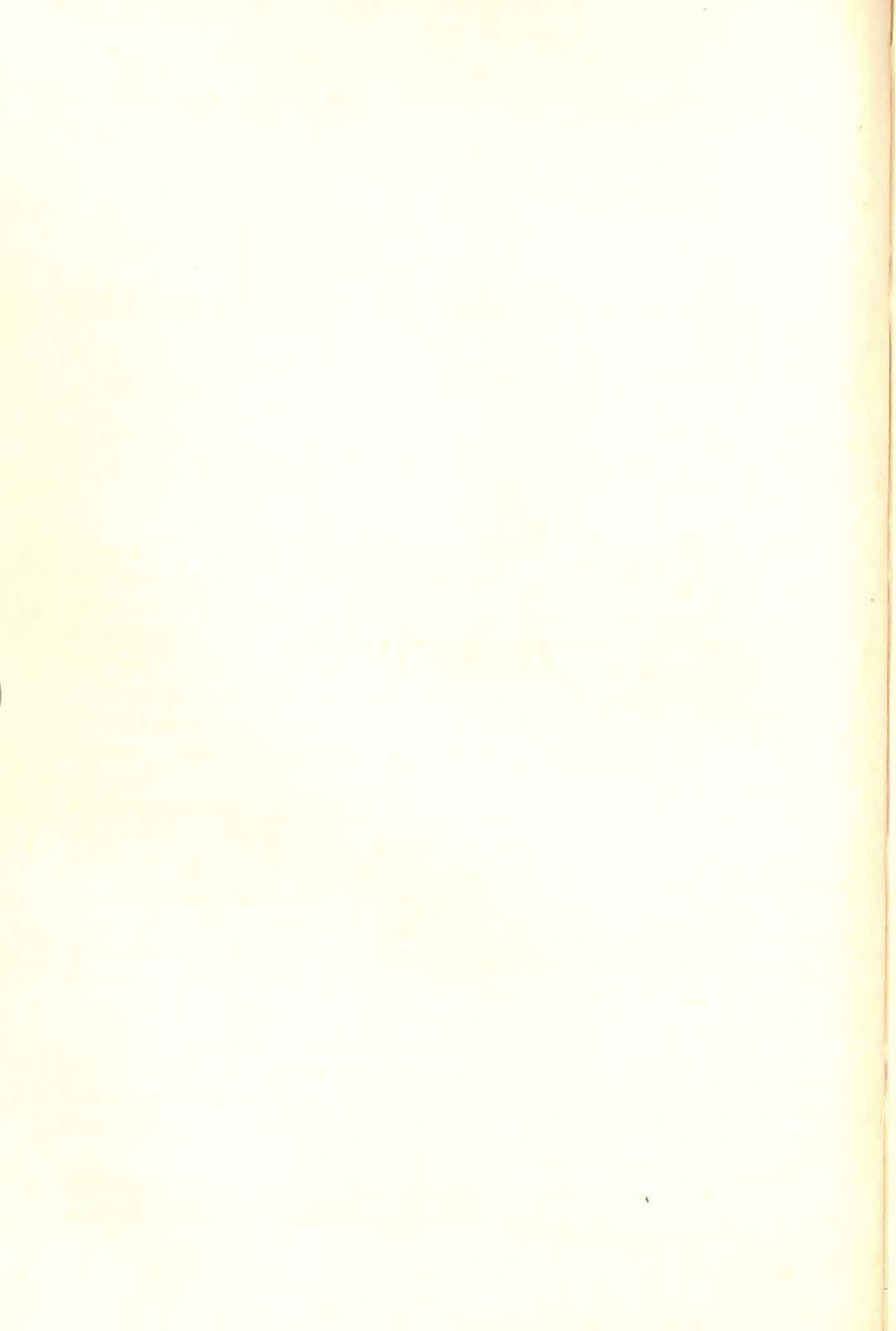
publication, eliminate each other's biases, or (as George Stoddard recommended in a review of that book in the December 1958 *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*¹⁶) that it should be separate work on common topics in which clashes are allowed to flourish, thus lending color and zest to comparative writings, even though bewildering newcomers to the field. This last question raises the still greater problem of whether comparative education is a fundamental discipline seeking truth or whether it is a method of approach bent on destruction of dogmatism in the world of education, which is essentially a vast expanse of relativity. Perhaps it could be both, and men who will make it so will justly assume the mantle of their great predecessors.





Part 4

Resources



Chapter Ten

Research and Teaching in the United States¹

The future of comparative education rests, in a sense, upon easy accessibility to the centers where comparative education sources are housed and where comparative education is taught. On the quality of these facilities depends the success of introducing the subject to beginner students. That students in the field gain an impression of rigorous scholarship, excitement, and a conviction that their study is worthwhile is vital to the sound establishment of comparative education as a respected discipline.

Throughout the universities and colleges of the United States comparative education is most commonly taught at the graduate level or in the senior year of undergraduate studies.² Sometimes it is conceived as a lecture course offered in the master's or equivalent degree program, at other times it is offered as an advanced seminar at the master's or doctoral level. In some centers it is taught simply as the result of faculty interest, and as such is included in the subject matter of courses in philosophy, history, principles of education, or whatever the interested professors happen to teach. In other institutions comparative education centers exist purely to carry out research, and teaching occurs only insofar as the faculty and their assistants progress with their projects. Even where comparative education is taught formally and regularly, only in the rarest instances, if at all, are courses required of all students.

This is a pity. There is a growing need for comparative perspective. Comparative education, like many other disciplines, must expect the

reproach that it tries to entrench itself by a self-proclaimed indispensability. But even at the risk of that charge, the point must be stressed that comparative insights and perspectives should be the everyday equipment of all teachers. Educators should first of all be prepared to cope with the growing international responsibilities of education. Secondly, it has been argued at length in this book that comparative insights clarify and refine the understanding of education and culture. Comparative education has immediate pragmatic value. It should at least be offered to, if not required of, every prospective teacher.

But if these arguments favor the expansion of the field, their practical application puts an instant handicap on such growth. The great variety in the organization, scope, and methods used in comparative education courses renders a comparison of the effectiveness of such courses all but impossible. It would be absurd to argue that all courses in the field should be taught in the same manner. But there ought to be greater consensus on the subject matter to be taught, if only to allow for the evaluation and transfer of credits. Unless such consensus is within reach, the argument that all should study comparative education will suffer from the embarrassment of being unable to explain what the field is supposed to encompass. It is in the hope of bringing about a convergence of opinion that several ways of organizing basic courses, research, and general comparative studies, as practiced by a cross section of universities, are reviewed here.

In the United States the organization and methods of teaching comparative education courses exhibit substantial variations. One finds clear types of teaching by areas, problems, and total sequences, as well as hybrid methods embodying these approaches. One also finds experimentation, such as teaching by case method or by improved pictorialization or by quantitative analysis. The following sections will describe course work and research conducted under major categories. It is impossible to do justice to all the American institutions that offer work in the field. They number over one hundred; consequently only some representative schools can be selected as examples. All universities cited were asked to read and amend the text that described them.

AREA APPROACH

One of the oldest and clearest ways of introducing comparative education is to study one geographical area at a time. This method transcends mere description. The comprehension of the many facets

of comparative study is facilitated by the narrowing of scope which the area approach involves. It allows for work in depth. It can utilize, especially through work in small groups, the student's specific language skills. Its weakness is, of course, that it is not comparative. But to minimize this, area studies can be combined with attempts at comparison by continuous cross reference to the student's own country or by placing several studies in a sequence or developing them in sections on parallel lines.

The major source of information for area studies is the United States Office of Education. Its research in comparative education began with a report on Russian education as early as 1868. Its international educational relations branch has been for many years headed by Dr. Bess Goodykoontz and is now headed by Dr. Frederika Tandler. The branch maintains full-time specialists who carry out studies covering all areas of the globe. Before World War II Severin Turossi and Alina Lindgren helped to build the office's reputation in research on eastern and western Europe respectively. At present the branch is a part of the division of international education under the associate commissioner for international education, a post occupied since 1952 by Dr. Oliver Caldwell. It maintains specialists on western Europe (Dr. George Male), on eastern Europe (Dr. Seymour Rosen), on Latin America (Dr. Charles Hauch), on the Near East and North Africa (Dr. Abdul Sassani), on Africa south of the Sahara (Mrs. Betty George), on the Far East (Dr. Robert Barendsen and Mr. Kenneth Neff), and on the Western Hemisphere (Dr. William K. Tunnell). Dr. Kathryn Heath and other members of the division also work on various aspects of comparative and international education.

The office's major publication is the so-called "Bulletin," in fact, a series of independent descriptive books and booklets on educational practices in different countries of the world. The following are samples of this publication for 1960-1961:

Kathryn G. Heath, *Ministries of Education* (Bulletin 1961, no. 21)

George A. Male, *Teacher Education in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg* (Bulletin 1960, no. 4)

William K. Medlin, Clarence B. Linquist, and Marshall L. Schmitt, *Soviet Education Programs* (Bulletin 1960, no. 17)

Betty George, *Education for Africans in Tanganyika* (Bulletin 1960, no. 19)

Charles C. Hauch, *Educational Trends in the Caribbean* (Bulletin 1960, no. 26)

The second publication of the division is the *Studies in Comparative Education* series, which appears in bound mimeographed form. These

contain shorter analyses of special aspects of foreign education or bibliographies on specific areas. The following are samples for 1960:

Frederika Tandler and staff, *Bibliography: 1959 Publications* (1960)

Nellie Apanasiewicz and Seymour M. Rosen, *Selected Bibliography of Materials on Education in Czechoslovakia* (August 1960)

Marcia T. Berrien and Robert D. Barendsen, *Education in Hong Kong* (May 1960)

Kenneth L. Neff, *National Higher Technical Education in Indonesia* (October 1960)

The third publication of the office is called *Newsnotes on Education around the World* (green flysheets). This publication contains brief reports on foreign educational systems and news on events in the field of international education in the United States. It replaced the old *Comparative Education Newsnotes* in 1956 and appears as material becomes available. Confusingly close in name is the mimeographed white flysheet circulated by the office, *Information on Education around the World*. This series inaugurated in 1959 contains brief articles on special aspects of education abroad and bibliographical data. Sample issues are: *Selected Bibliography of Recent Materials Related to International Education* (March 1960, not numbered); *Textbooks for Russian Schools*, rev. ed. (June 1960, no. 3); *Educational Data: Republic of Tunisia* (March 1960, no. 41-NE). The office also published one volume of the *Yearbook on Education around the World* in 1957, entitled *Education for Better Living: The Role of the School in Community Improvement*.

The division for international education is an expression of the general interest of the United States Office of Education in keeping the government and the country informed about events in education abroad. Since the National Defense Act of 1958 the office has administered doctoral fellowships, some 35 of which have been awarded for the study of comparative education at the University of Michigan, the University of California at Los Angeles, Peabody College for Teachers, the University of Chicago, Syracuse University, Teachers College, Columbia University, and others. Since 1961 the office has also been entrusted with administration of other funds under the Fulbright-Hayes Act. A delegation from the office annually attends the International Educational Conference in Geneva and submits a report on educational events in the United States. The former commissioner of education, Dr. Lawrence Derthick, headed the first cultural delegation to the Soviet Union in 1958 under the Lacey-Zarubin agreement. Unfortunately the work of the office is not closely enough related to the administration of other agencies such as the Peace

Corps or the Agency for International Development, which together add up to the educational effort of the American government abroad.

Among the universities an extensive area program is taught at the University of Michigan. Some of the offerings are examples of the single-area, or single-region approach. The School of Education has developed, in addition to courses such as "Society and Education in Japan," a series of courses represented by "Contemporary Education in America and Europe" and repeated for the British Commonwealth, Latin America, the Soviet Union, and East and Southeast Asia, each in comparison with the United States. These are regular courses. The university also maintains a regular workshop in Mexican culture and another workshop held in Quebec, Canada.

During the summer the University of Michigan offers programs on foreign areas, into which all resources of the university have been integrated. As an example, "Asian Cultures and Modern America," given in 1957, can be cited. The core of the program as far as comparative education was concerned, centered on the "Workshop on Asia," conducted by Dr. R. S. Anderson (who is now teaching at the University of Hawaii) and associates with the aid of visiting lecturers. The schedule of the workshop was as follows:

Geography and Anthropology of Asia

Introductory remarks

Geography of Asia

Peoples of Asia: origins and differences

History of Premodern Asia

The traditional period and its institutions:

Japan, China, and India

Psychology, Thought, and Religion of Asia

Psychology of personality formation

Family relations in Asian communities

Rise and spread of religion and philosophies:

Buddhism and Chinese philosophies

Hindu and Islamic thought

The great books of China and Japan

The Art of Asia

Modern Japanese, Chinese, and Indian ways of thought

Reaction to the West: China, India, and Japan

Art of Indian Asia, China, and Japan
Birth of Buddhist art in India and its spread to China
Literacy in Asia: mass education movements
Changing status of Japanese language and
its significance

Modern History, Politics, and Development

Asian resources in the contemporary world economy
Nationalist movements and achievements in postwar Asia
Summary session on Asia in the contemporary world

In addition to the interdisciplinary character of the workshop, it was integrated with several special events built around the whole program. These included ten public lectures with guest speakers, some thirty short films, two concerts, a play, daily broadcasts, eight evening socials organized by students of each country concerned, five exhibitions, and seven related courses. The university also regularly offers courses that transcend pure area classification, for example, "History and Philosophy of European Education" and "Workshop on International Education."

In the field of research and publication the University of Michigan has published since 1961 *Notes and Abstracts in the Social Foundations of American and International Education*.³ Dr. Claude Eggertsen⁴ edited until 1960 the *Journal of the History of Education*, which consistently carried articles in the field of comparative education. Dr. William Clark Trow has long had an interest in comparative education and has written *Character Education in Soviet Russia* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1934) and articles on the schools of the United States and of the Soviet Union.⁵ The 1960 appointment of Dr. William K. Medlin, co-author of *Soviet Education Programs* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1960) has strengthened the area of Soviet research in the university. Dr. Medlin is currently directing a large research project on Moslem Russia (specifically Uzbekistan) and on Tunisia. Faculty members with international interests also include Dr. John Brubacher (Japan), Dr. Robert Leestma (Southeast Asia), and others. The university was host to the fourth midwestern regional meeting of the Comparative Education Society in 1962.

The University of Pittsburgh also displays interests in area studies. In 1961 the university began the publication of the *History of Education Quarterly*, which continues the interest in comparative articles of its predecessor, the *History of Education Journal*. On the faculty are, among others,

Dr. William H. E. Johnson, author of *Russia's Educational Heritage* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1950) and past president of the Comparative Education Society; and Dr. Robert E. Mason, author of *Educational Ideals in American Society* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1960). The university publishes a series of *Studies in Comparative Education*, which to date includes books on England, the Soviet Union, and Norway.⁶ It offers one graduate course on comparative education in two sections taught by Dr. Johnson, who also guides doctoral research in the field. An interdisciplinary area course on the USSR, given during the summer by Dr. Johnson and others, shows similarities to the Michigan offerings and is tied in for those who wish it with one month field study in the Soviet Union.

The Dynamics of Soviet Power

Foundations of the Marxian Doctrines

Historical sources of Marxism

Dialectical materialism—Marxist philosophy and ethics

Historical materialism—Marxist conception of history and vision of the future

Historical Background of the USSR

Growth of the Russian Empire, 1500–1917, including industrialization and urbanization

Revolutionary movements in Russia, 1825–1905

Emergence of the Bolshevik faction, 1903–1917, and Leninism

The Communist Party of the USSR

Internal dissensions, structure, and interlocking role in the government in the period 1917–1939

Same for period 1939–1958

Party personnel policies—selection, training, and promotion of Party members and leaders

The Government of the USSR

Physical and human geography of the USSR

The central government—Supreme Soviet, Council of Ministers, State Planning Commission, and Supreme Court

Republic and local governments, and the nationality question
The armed services, and the internal security apparatus

Soviet Economics and Social Institutions

Economic geography of USSR. Soviet industry and agriculture
Soviet industry and agriculture continued
Working conditions, social stratification, trade unions, and social services

The Educational System of the USSR

Structure and organization
General aims and purposes as illustrated by courses in history and biology
Content and method as illustrated by courses in physical sciences and mathematics

Soviet Foreign Policies

Communist Nations

Communist nations in eastern Europe
Communist nations in Asia
Underdeveloped nations in Asia and in Africa
Underdeveloped nations in Latin America and in the Middle East
Changes in policies toward western nations, 1917-present
Activities in the United Nations
Theories about Soviet society
Present trends and prospects

An interesting variant of area studies is teaching by case method, developed by Dr. Robert Belding of the State University of Iowa.⁷ The core of the course, designed as an introductory offering at the graduate level, consists of the school chronicle of seven recently educated youths in Mexico, England, France, Western Germany, Scandinavia, the USSR, and Japan. The study is preceded by an overview of general information provided by a textbook, in this case I. L. Kandel, *New Era in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955). The educational autobiographies of young persons deemed to have received a typical education are then read to the students and are followed by appropriate discussion of the interrelation of school and society, research assignments, and comparisons.

The biographies are sketches of actual school children, amassed and organized by the lecturer during his travels. They are then enlarged to include all the typical features of the relevant educational systems. Thus the method combines a standard coverage of educational information with an interest aroused by an acquaintance with actual persons "in the act of being educated."

The University of California is also strong in area courses. Berkeley is the home of Dr. Frederic Lilge, author of *The Abuse of Learning: The Failure of the German Universities* (New York: Macmillan, 1948) and of *A. S. Makarenko: An Analysis of His Ideas in the Context of Soviet Society* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press 1957). In a graduate seminar-colloquium, which the university offers in addition to an introductory course, a multiple-area approach is used. Dr. Lilge offers the sections on Soviet Russia and Western Europe. Since 1961, Mr. Joseph Fischer has taught the seminar on Asian countries and a newly devised introductory course that puts strong emphasis on an interdisciplinary approach to comparative education.

At Los Angeles Dr. Howard Wilson, author among others of *American College Life as Education in the World Outlook* (American Council on Education, 1956), *United States Commission to UNESCO* (New York: Macmillan, 1948) and *Universities and World Affairs* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1951), has been dean since 1955 and teaches a graduate course in comparative education. The university also offers opportunities for doctoral research in the field. It sponsored in 1961 and 1962 the first two western regional conferences on comparative education, with attendance of some 500 people. On the faculty is Dr. Wendell P. Jones, specialist in African education and coordinator of AID and Peace Corps contracts in Nigeria, and Dr. George Kneller, author of *Higher Learning in Britain* (Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1955) and of *Education of the Mexican Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951). The work of Dr. Flaud Wooton (1893-1959) was long the center of comparative interest at UCLA. He was especially interested in educational relations with Latin America. Dr. Wooton died just as he was about to organize the library of visual aids for the Comparative Education Society.

It is probably correct to say that a majority of American universities which offer comparative education tend to do so on the area pattern. Three more universities may be mentioned as representative of this category. The University of Texas has on its faculty Dr. George I. Sanchez, author of *Mexico: A Revolution by Education* (New York:

Viking, 1936), *Development of Higher Education in Mexico* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), *Forgotten People* (Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), and others; Dr. A. H. Moehlman, co-editor of *Comparative Education*, with J. S. Roucek (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951); Dr. J. G. Umstattd, editor of *Secondary Education in Europe* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas, 1956); Dr. Franklin Parker, author of *African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia* (Kappa Delta Pi, International Education Monographs, 1960); and Dr. W. E. Drake, chairman of the department of history and philosophy of education and author of a section in S. Everett and C. O. Arndt, *Teaching World Affairs in the American Schools* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956). Courses listed for 1957-1959 included "Education in Mexico"; "The Secondary School and the Patterns of Culture"; "Culture Contacts"; "Spanish-speaking People in the U. S. and Their Adjustment"; and "Seminar in Inter-American Education and Culture Contacts."

The George Peabody College for Teachers has a standing interest in comparative education through the long and distinguished teaching of Dr. Harold Benjamin. Until 1962 Dr. Donald Adams (who has now joined the growing department at Syracuse University) represented the studies in East Asian Education.⁸ Presently at the college is Dr. Stewart Fraser, author of *Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education*, Comparative Education Studies (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964). Dr. Fraser's interests include East Asian education.⁹ The college's periodical, the *Peabody Journal of Education*, not infrequently carries articles on foreign educational systems. The college offers doctoral training in the field and schedules a general course in comparative education in three sections, dealing with Europe, Canada, and Latin America; Asia; and Africa. It ties in with Vanderbilt University and Scarritt College for the advanced languages and anthropology needed by students of comparative education.

At Kent State University Dr. Gerald H. Read is executive secretary-treasurer and one of the founders and chief organizers of the Comparative Education Society of America. Formerly with Dr. Henry Perkinson (who is now at New York University and who was succeeded by Dr. C. C. Chandler), he administers the *Comparative Education Review*, organizes the society's and other educational field studies abroad, and encourages visiting lecturers and students from abroad. The research emphasis at Kent has been on Latin America, Italy, and the Soviet Union. Dr. Read is co-author of *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).¹⁰ Courses given include "Comparative Education" and "History of Western Education." One of the sections of the seminar in theoretical

foundations of education is devoted to comparative education and is led by Dr. Read.

PROBLEM APPROACH

The problem approach as a method of teaching also has several merits. Most important, it enables the use of materials directly relevant to the students' experience and is thus calculated to capture their attention. Its shortcoming is that it does not supply a general enough background of information about education and society in their totality. This the student is forced to acquire by reading. But such limitation in scope allows for a closer integration of the political, economic, and sociological with the established philosophical and historical approaches. It is also possible to use fruitfully the problem approach jointly with the area treatment, or as preparation for the total approach.

Teachers College, Columbia University,¹¹ offers several courses of this type. The Columbia tradition in comparative education began with a course given by Dr. James Russell in 1898-1899.¹² The first book, Peter Sandiford's *Comparative Education* was published in 1918. The Institute of International Education, whose staff included at various times William F. Russell, Paul Monroe, I. L. Kandel, Thomas Alexander, and George S. Counts, functioned from 1923 to 1938 and published *Educational Yearbook* (1924-1944) and several volumes in the *Studies of the Institute of International Education*. Dr. Kandel was succeeded in the chair of comparative education by Dr. Robert King Hall in 1947, Dr. Counts and Dr. Hall were succeeded by this writer in 1955. Since then two doctoral seminars, given in alternate semesters between 1955-1959, dealt respectively with comparative study of social and political problems in education. The social problems were status of teachers, treatment of racial minorities, and juvenile delinquency; the political problems included academic freedom, centralized control, and church and state in education.

Each problem took up four to five meetings, organized as follows:

Race Problems in Education

Statement of the Problem in the United States

Alternative Profiles:

apartheid—South Africa

integration in a dual system—New Zealand

integration in a single system—Brazil

Variations

integration by certification—Belgium and the Congo

integration by immigration—England and Jamaica

Seminar: Lessons for the United States

The years 1960 and 1961 saw the doctoral courses in the process of reorganization into a general methods seminar, but the problems treated and the methods of treating them have remained substantially unchanged.

The doctoral courses at Teachers College cater roughly to twenty students at a time. By contrast, the basic course, "Fundamentals of Comparative Education," draws some two hundred students on the average. This course, given three times a year, is the alternative offering to the all-college master's degree requirement in social foundations. For the sake of illustration, two schemes of organization of this course are presented.

The first was developed by Dr. Robert King Hall, the incumbent of the chair of comparative education until 1955.

Introduction

Comparative education as educational statesmanship

Education as a Social Instrument

(Caste, class, religion, race, minorities, language)

Turkey: Education for a social revolution

Alphabets and social heritage

Puerto Rico: Experiment in Anglo-Latin cultural fusion

Peru: The Hispanization of the Andean Indians

England: From privilege to equality

France: Seminar on elite education

South Africa: Seminar on apartheid and white man's Africa

India: Seminar on the modernization of an ancient civilization

Education as an Economic Instrument

(Technology, industrialization, population, agrarian reform)

Iran: Education and economic planning

Saudi Arabia: Oil, democracy, and education in a Middle East economy

Brazil: Education in the process of industrialization

From slavery to a technological population

Chile: Private philanthropy and the creation of technical leadership
Sweden: Seminar on education for a Socialist state
Lebanon: Seminar on education for the small state
Switzerland: Seminar on education for a progressing nation

Education as a Political Instrument

(Power, nationalism, militarism, ideology, administration)
Japan: Education for the westernization of an oriental state
A military occupation as an educational instrument
Argentina: Education for Peronism
Western Germany: Seminar on education for a divided nation
Mexico: Seminar on education and the Mexican Revolution
China: Seminar on education for a Communist state
Russia: Education as a political weapon

As taught at present by Dr. C. T. Hu, who joined the faculty in 1959, and by this writer, the course is organized according to a similar conceptual scheme and partly also derived from Isaac Kandel's and Robert Ulich's teaching. The summer session, during which nineteen instead of the usual twelve lectures are given, is outlined below. Needless to say, each topic is carefully related to the problems of education in the United States:

Introduction

The scope and methods of comparative education

Some Structural Profiles

Elementary education: Colombia, England, Germany, the USSR, and others

Secondary education: France, Germany, England, the USSR, and others

Higher education: Japan, England, Italy, Germany, and others

Fundamental, adult education, and apprenticeship: Denmark, India, Turkey

Visual presentation of areas: Europe

Class discussion

Some Cultural Problems

Activity versus contemplation: the USSR, Turkey, India

Discipline versus permissiveness: Japan, the USSR, England

General education versus specialization: France, the USSR
Esthetic problems in education: Japan and others
Visual presentation of areas: Asia
Class discussion

Some Social Problems

Selective education versus education for all: France, the USSR, England
Church and state in education: Spain, Holland, England, the USSR
Race problems in education: South Africa, New Zealand, Brazil, Liberia
Ethnic problems in education: Switzerland, India, Wales.
Abundance and want in education: Sweden, Colombia, and others
Juvenile delinquency: the USSR, England, Japan
Visual presentation of areas: Africa
Class discussion

Some Political Problems

Indoctrination: the USSR and others
Control of education: France, England, the USSR
Status of teachers: the USSR, England, Japan, and others
Academic freedom: Germany, Spain, Australia, the USSR and others
Nationalism: Turkey, the USSR, South Africa, and others
Visual presentation of areas: Latin America
Class discussion

Other courses at Teachers College, even when regarded as area courses, tend also to be organized on a problem-approach basis. Straight area treatment is confined to seminars offered on China, Russia, India (taught in 1961 by Dr. Vera Micheles Dean), Latin America (taught in 1963 by Dr. Frank Tannenbaum), and Africa. Otherwise Dr. Harold Clark's "Education for the Economic and Social Improvement of Technologically Underdeveloped Areas," which concentrates on non-European regions, is in a sense a problem course, concerned as it is with economic questions. Dr. David Scanlon joined the faculty in 1958 and taught "Fundamentals of International Education" and "Education and the Problem of Cross-Cultural Contacts," which deal with the growing and vital area of international exchanges. Dr. C. T. Hu offers a course based on

Asian cultures entitled "Education and the Problem of Nationalism." Other area courses on Europe, Asia, and Africa each bear the title "Education and Cultural Change," thus implying problem or total treatment. The course entitled "Education and the Problem of Mass Culture" is built around the question of selectivity in secondary education and college and centers on Europe. The course on the USSR inaugurated by George Counts was called "Education and the Challenge of Communism." As later taught by this writer it was renamed "Education and the Problem of Indoctrination." Its outline follows:

Introduction

The problems of education in free and controlled societies

Soviet Education in Comparative Perspective

The pedagogical foundations

The political aspects of communism and the schools.

Wealth, welfare, and education

The social dilemma of educated mass and educated elite

Soviet Educational Institutions

The schools and the echoes of history

The administration of Soviet education

The nature of the curriculum

Soviet education in pictures

Issues in Education

Scientific potential in comparative perspective

The vicissitudes of religious faith

Art, letters, and sport

The Challenge of Communism

The Polish schools—a Communist variant

Schools challenged by communism: France, Italy, and Japan

Communism and the American schools

Doctoral requirements include one year of residence abroad in the country or countries of specialization and a knowledge of two to four languages for the doctor of philosophy degree and one foreign language for the doctor of education degree.

In research and publications the Columbia center edits the *Comparative Education Review* for the Comparative Education Society and co-edits the *Year Book of Education* with the University of London. A series of paperbacks was inaugurated in 1963 as *Comparative Education Studies*.¹³ The present faculty co-authored or edited books such as David Scanlon, *International Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960); C. T. Hu, *China* (New Haven: Human Relations Area File, 1960), and *Chinese Education under Communism* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961); George Z. F. Bereday, *Liberal Traditions of Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1958), *Public Education in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), *Politics of Soviet Education* (New York: Praeger, 1960), and *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960). Among the emeriti, Dr. I. L. Kandel's latest books are *American Education in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957) and *William Chandler Bagley* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955). Dr. George Counts has published *The Challenge of Soviet Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957) and *Khrushchev and the Central Committee Speak on Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959). Other faculty authors are R. F. Butts, *Assumptions underlying Australian Education* (Melbourne: Australian Council on Education, 1955) and A. Harry Passow, *Secondary Education for All: The English Approach* (Columbus, O.: Ohio State University Press, 1961). Teachers College sponsored the eastern regional conference of the Comparative Education Society in 1960.¹⁴ Under the over-all direction of Dr. R. Freeman Butts, Teachers College maintains foreign educational projects on behalf of the United States government and other bodies in Afghanistan, India, Kenya, and Peru, and it has trained Peace Corps groups for Nigeria and Sierra Leone. It maintains an Institute for Education in Africa, headed by Dr. Karl Bigelow. The Horace Mann Institute of School Experimentation is directed by Dr. Arthur W. Foshay, who has initiated (in collaboration with the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg, the University of Chicago, and other institutions) the International Evaluation of Educational Attainment, a project concerned with evolving an international measure of school achievement and testing children of different nations through this means.¹⁵ The head of the department of social and philosophical foundations of education, Dr. Lawrence Cremin, is American editor of the *International Review of Education*. Teachers College trains every year some 500 foreign students.

At Boston University Mr. Richard Rapacz has worked to establish courses in comparative education, some on the problems pattern to complement area offerings. The university has a program in African studies. On the faculty is Dr. Theodore Brameld, author among many other books of *The Remaking of a Culture: Life and Education in Puerto Rico* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959). The following courses are offered at present:

Taught by Dr. G. David Phillips

Comparative Philosophies of Education

Taught by Mr. Rapacz

Introduction to Comparative Education

Social Problems in Education—A Comparative Perspective

Political Problems in Education—A Comparative Education Perspective and the Challenge of Soviet Communism

Dr. Brameld's courses on social foundations and cultural foundations of education are also relevant.

Also in the "problem" classification are the centers interested in international education. The problem of international exchanges for educational purposes occupies many institutions, some of them highly specialized. The Institute of International Education, headed by Dr. Kenneth Holland, is a private organization founded in 1919 and devoted primarily to the facilitation of student and leader exchanges between the United States and 86 countries of the world. It acts on behalf of private and public sponsoring bodies as well as under government auspices as a major center regulating the student and leader traffic to and from the United States. Some phases of its activities are highly significant in the field of comparative education. The institute maintains a library of sources on education in foreign lands. For 36 years it published a journal known as the *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, now renamed *Overseas*, in which several articles of comparative interest have appeared. For example, the first issue of the new version (September 1961) carried a comparison of French and American education by André Maurois.¹⁶ An annual report entitled *Open Doors* begun in 1955 gives statistics on educational exchanges in which the United States is involved. Among several other publications are two especially deserving mention, *Handbook on International Study: for U. S. Nationals* and *Handbook on International Study: for Foreign Nationals*. The reports of the exchanges sponsored by the institute, for example, its Polish exchange program, financed by the Ford Foundation, will be a mine of useful primary material when they

are made available to researchers. The special IIE report on visits to the Soviet Union is one sample of the institute's special publications, many of which are of interest to comparative educators.¹⁷ A sample of outside publications by the staff of the institute is Lila von Klemperer's *Austria: A Survey of Austrian Education* (Washington, D. C.: World Education Series, 1961). Besides administering fellowships and work on publications, the institute also participates in active fieldwork abroad. As examples, between 1956 and 1958 it had administered a pilot agricultural training center in Jerez de la Frontera in Spain¹⁸ and serves jointly with Harvard on the Planning Board for the Economic Development of Pakistan.¹⁹ The institute has five regional offices in the United States and is in the process of establishing offices in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, as well as a central office at the United Nations in New York.

The City University of New York has recently begun to develop a doctoral program in international and comparative education at Brooklyn College. Courses in comparative education, both of an area and problem type, were offered at different times at City College by, among others, Dr. I. Berkson, at Queens College by Dr. E. Fox and Dr. M. Eckstein, and at Brooklyn College by Drs. Carleton Washburne, Leonard Kenworthy, Alfred Adler, Ward Madden, Eunice Matthew, Joseph Justman, Margaret Cormack, and Mrs. Ursula Kirkpatrick. Books of comparative interest have been published by the following faculty at these centers:

- Carleton Washburne, *The World's Good: Education for World Mindedness* (New York: John Day, 1954)
- J. Justman, *The Italian People and Their Schools* (Tiffin, Ohio: Kappa Delta Pi, 1958)
- S. Everett, *Growing Up in English Secondary Schools* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959)
- M. Cormack, *The Hindu Woman* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953) and *She Who Rides a Peacock; Indian Students and Social Change* (New York: Praeger, 1962)

Dr. Harry Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College, has exhibited a strong interest in comparative education, especially Dutch education.²⁰ Dr. Leonard Kenworthy has experimented with methods of teaching international education at college and high school levels. He is the author of *Introducing Children to the World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), *Twelve Citizens of the World* (New York: Doubleday, 1952), *World Horizons for Teachers* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952), *Leaders of New Nations* (New York: Doubleday, 1959), and *Profile of Nigeria* (New York: Doubleday, 1959).

Faculty members of the college have traveled extensively. Dr. Carleton Washburne in particular is internationally known for his pioneer work in progressive education in Winnetka, Illinois, and his consultantships in Japan, Italy, Cambodia, and Africa. The major course taught since 1953 has been "Education and World Community," which is offered in five sections of some thirty-five students each, and deals with international education. Brooklyn College also offers courses on areas that include education in their coverage. The Far East and India, the Middle East and North Africa, the Carribean and the West Indies, and Africa south of the Sahara, are included.

Two other universities place special emphasis on international education. Michigan State University offers the following four courses in the comparative and international area: "Education in the Western World"; "Education in the Non-Western World"; "Cross-Cultural Education"; and "International Education." Dr. Carl Gross teaches comparative education, Dr. Cole Brembeck, international education. Dr. Brembeck has co-authored two bibliographies, *Education and Development in India and Pakistan* and *Education in Emerging Africa* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University College of Education, n.d.). Among other members of the faculty, Dr. Herbert Rudman has an interest in Soviet education. In research John A. Garraty and W. Adams have published two books: *From Main Street to Left Bank* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1959), and *Is the World Our Campus?* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1960).

While he was concentrating on special problems in international education, one of which was the training of elementary school teachers for service overseas, Stanford University was the home for three decades of Dr. Paul Hanna, now director of the newly established Comparative Education Center,²¹ and also of Dr. Walter Crosby Eels, the latter the author of *Communism in Education in Asia, Africa, and the Far Pacific* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1954), *The Literature of Japanese Education* (Hampden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1955), and *American Dissertations on Foreign Education* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1959). Among other faculty members interested in international education are Dr. Robert Bush (international aspects of teacher training) and Dr. Arthur Coladarci (Japan). In 1960 the university inaugurated a new series on comparative education with the publication of Sidney C. High's *Vocational Industrial Education in Newly Developing Nations: A Case Study of the Philippines* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University School of Education, 1960). At least four more studies are

being currently prepared. Stanford was the host to the western regional Comparative Education Society conference in 1963, entitled "Educational Investment in the Pacific Community." The university offers a course in comparative education and a doctoral specialization in the field.

TEACHING THROUGH SEQUENCE

The next group of universities attempts to teach comparative education according to a definite sequence. The merit of this method is that, besides its orderliness, it approximates the total approach. Courses under this category can be challenging, but they necessitate assigning proper weight to abstractions as against facts and illustrations. Too much emphasis on abstractions tends to submerge the descriptive details, sometimes to the point that the subject ceases to be comparative education and becomes philosophy or sociology of education. Too little analysis fails to bring out the total *Gestalt* of the course, without which there can be no adequate notion of totality and sequence. This type of teaching also places upon the lecturer the difficult task of transcending the materials upon which the sequence is based. That necessity is most evident in the course that is organized around a textbook, but it is also present in other variants of the method. Only considerable erudition and resourcefulness can prevent the lecturer from merely repeating the materials in the book or books assigned or inversely from indulging in speculations about his research at the expense of general coverage.

New York University has developed a comparative course woven around a textbook. Until 1958 the offering was based on J. F. Cramer and G. S. Browne, *Contemporary Education* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956), but a comparison of the course outline below with the book's Table of Contents will reveal that the course possessed a unity of its own:

Introduction to the Course

Aims, values, scope, and terminology

Bibliographical sources

Research methodology

Influences on National Systems of Education

Historical

Social

Political

Economic

School Administration, Control, and Finance

The USA, England, France, and the USSR
Comparative analysis

Operation of School Systems

The USA, England, France, and the USSR
Comparative analysis

Transfer of School Systems

Postwar Germany
Postwar Japan

The outline has the merit of allowing the student to follow up each lecture by the reading of relevant materials. It can also be varied as better and more up-to-date textbooks appear. Subsequent plans at New York University included a transfer to area-problem type courses. One such program was built around the issues created by the new developments in Soviet education.²²

The courses in comparative education were taught by Dr. William W. Brickman until his transfer to the University of Pennsylvania in 1962. A founder and first president of the Comparative Education Society, Dr. Brickman is co-author of *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), and editor of *School and Society*, a periodical with strong comparative interests. He is also the author of *Guide to Research in Educational History* (New York: New York University Bookstore, 1949), co-editor of *John Dewey: Master Educator* (Society for the Advancement of Education, 1959), *The Countdown on Segregated Education* (Society for the Advancement of Education, 1960), and *Religion, Government and Education* (Society for the Advancement of Education, 1961), and editor of *John Dewey's, Impressions of Russia and the Revolutionary World*, Comparative Education Studies (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964). Under the leadership of Dr. Brickman, New York University sponsored six annual conferences in comparative education, which later grew into the eastern regional meetings of the Comparative Education Society (as mentioned, one was held at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1960; the second was organized by Dr. Gabe Sanders at Jersey City State College in 1961; the third was held at the United States Office of Education in 1962; the fourth, at the University of Syracuse in 1963). All the New York University conferences resulted

in published reports edited by Dr. Brickman.²³ He was succeeded by Dr. Henry Perkinson from Kent State University,²⁴ and Dr. E. Aztman from Hunter College. On the faculty also were Dr. Adolph E. Meyer, author of *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1949) and Dr. C. O. Arndt, who co-edited the Eleventh Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, *Education for a World Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951) and chaired the committee which prepared the Fifty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, *Community Education: Principles and Practices from World-Wide Experiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

As a second method of teaching through sequence one might perhaps tentatively classify instruction according to a list of competencies. Dr. W. V. Kaulfers at the University of Illinois has developed such a course. Its formal offering deals with the current scene. The course features visiting speakers, films, class lectures, reports of committees on special developments, and so forth. In addition, the students are taught to develop discrimination in finding and using current literature of the field. They are expected to follow the program individually and in small sections. Their goal is to reach the following list of competencies, which is then tested by two or three examinations and supplementary written work:

A well-grounded understanding of the differences between education in the United States and most foreign countries in terms of their rationale and implications.

A thorough acquaintance with education in France, the newer Asiatic nations, and the USSR as specific illustrations of the foregoing differences in terms of both practice and long-range outcomes.

A thorough understanding of the educational system and current educational developments in one country other than the United States, France, or the USSR. Choice to be indicated at time of application for the proficiency examination.

Knowledge of the contributions of particular educators or individuals abroad whose work has attracted widespread attention since 1900 outside their homelands.

Ability to compare education in the United States with education in France or the USSR in specific terms as well as in terms of supporting ideologies.

Ability to pronounce and define the names of representative foreign schools and of common concepts of education that have been reduced to slogans.

Acquaintance with the specific means used by foreign countries to promote literacy, to attract young people to teaching, to promote child health, to provide the benefits of education in sparsely settled regions, and so forth.

Acquaintance with the origin, organization, budget, and work of UNESCO.

Another example of sequence teaching is through historical perspective. This method was developed by Dr. Robert Ulich of Harvard University. His approach was based on the belief that an increasing number of students no longer possess a sufficient knowledge of their cultural traditions and that without the awareness of the common base of our civilization they will be incapable of making meaningful comparisons. Accordingly Dr. Ulich paid special attention to the common cultural roots of the classical, Christian, humanist, democratic, and scientific traditions and applied them to discussions of the modern educational experiences of England, France, Germany, the United States, and the Soviet Union. These nations were analyzed not only as areas but also from the problem approach historically conceived. Hence special emphasis was given to such issues as centralization versus decentralization, national unity versus disunity, spiritual continuity versus discontinuity, denominationalism versus universalism, and nationalism versus internationalism. There was also an opportunity for philosophical speculation and evaluation and for the examination of the current challenge of totalitarian countries to democracies. Finally, an attempt was made to show, at least in broad perspective, the recent educational developments of the newly established nations in Asia.

Dr. Ulich, for two decades a leading figure in American as well as comparative education, retired from Harvard in 1960. He is the author of several books, many with comparative implications. His *Education of Nations: A Historical-Comparative Treatise*,²⁵ which is specifically comparative in treatment, was published by Harvard University Press in 1960. *Liberal Traditions in Education*, edited by George Z. F. Bereday, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education), essays in Dr. Ulich's honor, was published in 1958. Dr. TheodoreSizer on the Harvard faculty has comparative interests. In 1962 Harvard established

a center for Studies in Education and Development under the direction of Professor Adam Curle and Dr. Russell Davis. Until 1962 Harvard provided also the home for Dr. Nicholas DeWitt, a specialist on Soviet education. Now at the University of Indiana, Dr. DeWitt was an associate of the Russian Research Center and author of *Soviet Professional Manpower* (Washington: National Science Foundation, 1955) and *Education and Professional Employment in the Soviet Union* (National Science Foundation, 1961).

The disciplinary and total approach to education is also the feature of the comparative education program at the University of Chicago, although the center does not neglect area study. Among the faculty, Dr. C. Arnold Anderson, the director, and Dr. A. Kazamias work on western Europe, Dr. R. J. Havighurst studies Latin America, and Dr. Philip Foster concentrates on Africa. The center is also interested in problems. Current research projects include International Evaluation of Educational Attainment in collaboration with the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg and others, transfer of educational systems from one country to others, educational selection and opportunity distribution, and the school and the political ethos. But the major theme of the center is an approach to educational evidence through the means of the new social disciplines, especially sociology, economics, and political science. The center, founded in 1954, has pioneered the social science approach to comparative education.

An approach through a discipline is best reflected by Dr. Jean Bowman's course outline in comparative economics of education. As described by the center:

The course represents an innovation in the field of comparative education. In this course tools of economics are applied explicitly to administration and curriculum as well as finance. Special attention is given also to questions about education and economic development, shortage and excess of trained manpower, and problems of assessing the distribution of costs and benefits of education among the population.²⁶

The course outline is as follows:

Orientations

Introducing the "economics of education" (education as consumption and investment; social versus private functions; defining approach in terms of economic theory and problems)
Types of economies and roles of education in production

Foundations for analysis of the functioning of education in the economic structure: model of pure competition as analytical tool and as norm

Private versus social costs and benefits of education

Identifying and measuring the costs of education

Income differentials and measurement of rates of return to education

Effects of restrictionism, discrimination, and immobilities

Education and occupation in industrialized economies

Concepts of shortage and excess

Preference functions, locus of decisions, and the social ethic

Education, resource allocation, and income distribution revisited

Education and Economic Development

Theories of growth and role of investment in human capital

Functional approach to role of education in early stages of development

An ecological approach to role of education in early stages of development

Educational product mix and international trade in human capital

Education, economic structure, and dynamics of industrialism

Preliminary view of measurement of role of education in economic growth

Scope of human capital and national income concepts

Basic approaches to concept and measurement of human capital

Economic growth and the components of educational investment

Issues in the Support and Control of Education in the United States

Support and control of primary and secondary education

Geographic mobility and roles of central and local governments

Practice and policy in support and control of higher education

Need for major changes in components and timing of postsecondary training

The basic course, "Comparative Education," represents a succinct statement of the center's point of view and is the closest to total approach in the United States. It also reflects emphasis on the utilization of methods of several social sciences. The outline is summarized as follows:

The Rationale for Comparative Education

Logical and Methodological Characteristics and Difficulties of Comparative Disciplines

Common and diverse elements in:

Comparative anatomy

Comparative psychology

Comparative economics

Comparative linguistics

Comparative literature

Comparative law

Comparative politics

Comparative social research presupposes a typology of societies

Nomographic-ideographic dilemma in comparative social research

Macro and micro comparisons

Examination of Some Classical Examples of Comparative Reports in the Last Century

Comparative Economics of Education

Contrasting Patterns of Education in Relation to Vertical Mobility

Varied Patterns of Relationship between Education and Elites

Diverse Policies Regarding Selective versus Universal Schooling and Liberal versus Technical Education

These Policies Exemplified in Contrasting Student Bodies (Secondary and Higher) as Concerns Social Origins; Trends

Status of Teachers in Different Countries

Suggestions for a Typology of Educational Systems

The University of Chicago has sponsored three midwestern regional meetings of the Comparative Education Society (the fourth was held at the University of Michigan in 1962, the fifth at the University of Indiana in 1963) and has published special issues of the *Comparative Education Review* (October 1960 and October 1962). It publishes

monographs embodying the research of faculty, resident doctoral students, and numerous foreign lecturers.²⁷

It is impossible to come to the end of work in comparative education in the United States. The roster of membership of the Comparative Education Society, which unites the specialists, consists of more than 500 names. To mention other workers in the field, Mr. Anthony Scarangelo is developing a new program in comparative education at the University of Delaware.²⁸ Dr. Donald Adams and Mr. John Laska are responsible for building up the program at Syracuse University. The University of Hawaii has had expansion both at the School of Education and at the East-West Center. Cornell University and the University of Pennsylvania are currently planning sizable programs in international and comparative education, as is Pennsylvania State University and Ohio University. The University of Indiana offered a course in comparative higher education, taught by Dr. R. C. Gibson (other higher education courses also have comparative components), and a full-year comparative education course, given by Dr. M. T. Eaton. The appointment of Dr. Nicholas DeWitt meant an inauguration of the new department of comparative education and of the nonwestern studies project. On the whole, the number of universities interested in the field is steadily increasing. Faculty travel abroad and exchanges of scholars and students are also on the rise.

This rapid growth of interest is not without its problems. A great many people not qualified to do so are tempted to engage in comparative work and publications. Many use comparative evidence naively or in order to buttress their preconceived ideas. But the balance sheet of the field will probably end up on the credit side. The new interest is like a nuclear reaction; it will feed new talent into the hard core of professionals. It is to be hoped that the latter, in time, through sheer pressure of numbers, will curb the more irresponsible of the amateurs and thus help in the continuing process of raising the standards of the discipline.

Chapter Eleven

Centers Outside the United States

Outside the United States, England, Germany, and the Soviet Union cultivate extensively the study of comparative education. Work in the field takes place also in other countries, notably in Canada, France, Switzerland, the Benelux countries, Italy, Brazil, and Japan. Centers outside the United States make somewhat less of a distinction among area study, the problem approach, and the total approach in education, although the foremost centers usually practice all of these. Their tendency is also to look upon comparative education as much less distinct from philosophy, sociology, or psychology of education than is the case in the United States. Rather, comparative education is considered one of the sections within the broad subject of theory or principles or history of pedagogy, the only subject to have won a separate place in the universities apart from psychology and methods courses dealing with the teaching of particular academic subjects.

If such approaches seem in America less distinctly comparative, they have on the whole the merit of avoiding a commitment to purely educational descriptions. The writings tend to be speculative, or where they are descriptive, the emphasis is on cataloguing. This chapter will describe briefly the work in the various countries mentioned above. Again, as in the United States, emphasis will be placed on selected representative institutions. These centers were invited to examine and correct the descriptions of their programs that follow. Because of the great variety of practices and conceptions, it is not possible to catalogue or to evaluate the quality of the programs presented. The chapter simply enumerates

the centers offering formal programs and institutions housing scholars who have written books or articles on foreign education.

ENGLAND AND THE COMMONWEALTH

In England the traditions of Matthew Arnold and Michael Sadler are carried on by the University of London and the University of Reading. In London after World War I Dr. Nicholas Hans as Lecturer, and later Reader in comparative education began the tradition of intensive study at King's College.¹ This tradition is now continued by Dr. Edmund King, who succeeded Dr. Hans as Lecturer in 1953 and who was appointed Reader in 1962. The Institute of Education created the chair of comparative education in 1947, with Dr. J. A. Lauwerys as the first and present incumbent. Henceforth the work of the institute grew as its staff was expanded and as other faculty members acquired comparative interests. Dr. Brian Holmes was called to the institute in 1953 and was appointed Lecturer in comparative education in 1959. The department of education in tropical areas continued its work under Professor Margaret Read, later Lionel Elvin, and at present, J. L. Lewis. The overseas division deals with the flow of students from abroad.

The publication of the prewar *Year Book of Education* was resumed in 1948. Comparative tours abroad, begun in 1938, were greatly expanded and now include the USSR as well as most countries of western Europe. Faculty travel, lectures, and publications have been extensive. The years 1960–1962 saw the appointment of John Vaizey, now of Oxford University, as director of the research unit in economics of education in the department of comparative education. In May 1961 the university took the lead in calling a comparative education conference in London. As a result, the Comparative Education Society of Europe came into being. Its first meeting took place in Amsterdam in 1963.

The course offerings in comparative education, which are joint for the Institute of Education and King's College, include a senior seminar for M.A. and Ph.D. candidates, with four or five meetings a term and a regular seminar in three sections, which usually concentrates on the United States, the Indian peninsula, and France. Professor Lauwerys also offers a general lecture course in comparative education.

Research and publications from the University of London include several books by Nicholas Hans: *Educational Policy in Soviet Russia* (with Sergius Hessen) (London: P. S. King, 1930); *History of Russian Educational Policy* (London: P. S. King, 1931); *Principles of Educational*

Policy: A Study in Comparative Education (London: P. S. King, 1933); *Comparative Education*, 3d ed. (London: Routledge, 1958); *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1951); and *The Russian Tradition in Education* (London: Routledge, 1963). Joseph A. Lauwerys has authored *Scandinavian Democracy* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute, 1958); *Morals, Democracy, and Education* (Tokyo: Institute for Democratic Education, 1957); *The Enterprise of Education* (London: Ampersand, 1955); and *History Textbooks and International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953). Other books include Edmund King, *Other Schools and Ours*, revised edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963) and *World Perspectives in Education* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962); Brian Holmes, *American Criticism of American Education* (Columbus, O.: Ohio State University, 1957); John Vaizey, *The Cost of Education* (London: G. Allen, 1958) and *Economics of Education* (New York: Free Press, 1962); Willis Dixon, *Education in Denmark* (Copenhagen: Centraltrykkeriet, 1958); and James Henderson, *Adolf Reichwein: Eine politisch-pedagogische Biographie* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958).²

The University of Reading has had a program in comparative education since the appointment of Mr. Vernon Mallinson soon after the end of World War II. In 1959 he became Reader in comparative education. Mr. Mallinson is an authority on Belgium and on most of western Europe, as well as being a French and German linguist. Professor C. H. Dobinson, formerly Reader in education at Oxford and the incumbent of the chair at Reading since 1950, is an authority on France and has also been interested in education in the Scandinavian countries and Finland. His special field of interest, in which he has written many articles, is technical and vocational education of young people under 18 years of age. Mr. K. F. Smart had many years of experience as an educational organizer and educational administrator in Ghana and has done advisory work in Western Nigeria. He has specialized in East Germany and to a lesser extent in Czechoslovakia and other European countries. Mr. David Calcott has had extensive experience in Sierra Leone and other parts of West Africa. Mr. John Hartley has experience of educational administration in the Sudan and other parts of East Africa.

Graduate opportunities offered lead to degrees of master of education (by examination) and to master of arts (education) and doctor's degree (by research). Faculty publications include the following books: C. H. Dobinson, *Technical Education of Adolescents* (London: Harrap, 1951), *Education in the Changing World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1951), and *Schooling 1963-1970* (London: Harrap, 1963);³ Vernon Mallinson, *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education*, 2d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1960), *Power and Politics in Belgian Education* (London: Heinemann, 1963), *None Can Be Called Deformed* (London: Heinemann, 1956), *Teaching a Modern Language* (London: Heinemann, 1953), *The Adolescent at School* (London: New Educational Book Club, 1949), and others.

In addition to London and Reading, members of the faculty of several other universities carry out work relevant to comparative education. To mention only a few, in Glasgow Dorothea Meek edited a symposium on Soviet youth;⁴ in Leicester Brian Simon published a book on Poland;⁵ in Leeds Dr. J. H. Higginson (now at County Arnold School in Nottingham) engaged in research on Michael Sadler;⁶ in Bristol T. L. Jarman published a book on national socialism in Germany.⁷

The Commonwealth countries reflect the English interest in comparative education. In Canada McGill University has a graduate seminar in comparative education. Professors David Munroe, Reginald Edwards, Paul Nash (the latter now at Boston University) and others have interests ranging from Africa to England to Russia. These interests are reflected in seminars and faculty publications.⁸ Another program is headed by Dr. Joseph Katz at the University of British Columbia. Dr. Katz served as president of the Comparative Education Society in 1961 and edited *Canadian Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956). At the University of Ottawa is Professor Anthony Paplauskas-Ramunas, Canadian editor of the *International Review of Education*. In Australia Professor E. L. French at Melbourne began the publication of *Melbourne Studies in Education* (Melbourne University Press) in 1957. The first, third, and fourth volumes (1957-1958, 1959-1960, and 1960-1961) of this yearly publication contain chapters on French, English, and Chinese, as well as Australian, education.⁹ Melbourne also provided the home for Professor G. S. Browne, co-author of *Contemporary Education* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956). At Sydney Professor W. F. Connell, author of *Matthew Arnold* (London: Routledge, 1950) is interested in methods of comparative education.¹⁰ At the University of Queensland Professor F. J. Schonell has an interest in educational exchanges and comparative education.¹¹ Another comparative educator, Dr. Godfrey Brown, teaches at the University College of Ibadan in Nigeria.¹² At the University of Natal Dr. P. D. Hey has shown interest through comparative publications.¹³ Another comparative study by J. Chr. Coetzee comes from the University of Potchefstroom in South Africa.¹⁴

GERMANY

Germany has much claim to distinction in the field of comparative education. Centers at Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Bonn deserve particular mention.

The University of Munich provides the current home for the doyen of the field, Dr. Friedrich Schneider, author of a number of books, including *Geltung und Einfluss der deutschen Pädagogik in Ausland* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1943); *Triebkräfte der Pädagogik der Völker* (Salzburg: Otto Muller, 1946); *Europäische Erziehung* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Europa et Schola, 1960); and *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1962).

Dr. Schneider began his studies in comparative education after World War I and traveled in several countries, including the United States. From his initiative came a flow of doctoral dissertations with comparative significance. In 1930 he founded the *International Review of Education*. In 1946 he established the Institute of Comparative Education in Salzburg, which continued until 1953. Besides offering lectures and seminars at the Theological Faculty at Salzburg, the institute published four studies by Dr. Schneider, *Die Jugendverwahrlosung und ihre Bekämpfung* (1951); *Jugendkriminalität* (1952); *Benachteiligte Kinder* (1953); *Tiefenpsychologie und Erziehung* (1954); and the fifth volume by Dr. Wolfgang Brezinka, *Erziehung als Beruf* (1955). The institute also co-edited the *Lexikon der Pädagogik der Gegenwart* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder), the standard German educational dictionary containing several articles on comparative education, international education, and foreign educational systems. Professor Schneider became Ordinarius in Munich in 1949. Until his retirement he included comparative education in his university seminar and lectures. He writes widely on the subject and is on the board of editors of the *International Review of Education* and of *Comparative Education Review*. Dr. Schneider's student, Dr. Wolfgang Brezinka, Ordinarius in pedagogy at the University of Innsbruck, was the editor of the *Festschrift* for Dr. Schneider, which was published as *Weltweite Erziehung* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1961).

To turn next to the centers in Hamburg, the UNESCO Institute for Education was established in 1951 under the directorship of Professor Walter Merck, who at the time held the chair of comparative education at the University of Hamburg. The institute aims at promoting international comparative education through cooperation between educators of different countries. Among its chief instruments are international meetings of

experts who convene to exchange experiences and ideas in important areas of the educational development, to clarify the crucial issues, and to initiate and coordinate empirical research in education. Reports on meetings are widely distributed, many in a special *Conference Bulletin* series. It was at the institute that the first major postwar conference on comparative education was held in 1955. The second was held in 1963. The institute also serves as an international coordinating organ of research carried out at national research centers. It is at present engaged in a comparative project now known as the "International Evaluation of Educational Attainment," in which the research centers of about a dozen countries are participating. The institute houses a substantial library of sources in comparative and international education. It has a professional staff of five men from different countries and is at present directed by Dr. S. B. Robinsohn,¹⁵ a comparative educator from Israel. *The International Review of Education*, the major journal in the field of comparative education, is edited on behalf of the UNESCO institute by an independent editorial board. Recent publications of the institute include the following titles:¹⁶

L'enseignement des sciences sociales au niveau préuniversitaire (1962, 67 pp.)

Arthur W. Foshay, et al., *Educational Achievements of Thirteen-year-olds in Twelve Countries* (1962, 68 pp.)

Wolfgang Hug, *Die Entwicklungsländer im Schulunterricht* (1962, 70 pp.)

W. D. Wall, F. J. Schonell, and Willard C. Olson, *Failure in School* (1962, 158 pp.)

J. B. Willcock, *Preparing Teachers for Education for International Understanding* (1962, 100 pp.)

Located also in Hamburg is the chair of comparative education at the University of Hamburg, the only university chair in the field in Germany. It is now occupied by Dr. Gottfried Hausmann, an authority on Turkey. Dr. Oskar Anweiler, an authority on the Soviet Union, also teaches at Hamburg.¹⁷ In addition to his duties as professor of comparative education, Dr. Hausmann is managing editor of the *International Review of Education* and director of the Hamburg Pedagogical Institute, again the only such institute in Germany to be incorporated in the university. The *Abteilung für vergleichende Pädagogik* in the institute was founded in 1950 as part of the university *Seminar für Erziehungswissenschaft*. Dr. Hausmann and his assistant Mr. Ernst Neugebauer present comparative education in the following sample of courses:

*Summer Semester, 1960**Lectures*

Introduction to Pedagogy (750 to 1100 students)

Problems of Education Abroad (about 150 students)

Seminars

European School Reforms since World War II—England, Sweden, France, USSR (about 130 students)

*Winter Semester, 1960–1961**Lectures*

Great Modern Educators (750–1100 students)

Prospects and Limitations of International Educational Cooperation (about 150 students)

Seminars

Oberseminar. Doctoral dissertation themes including those in comparative education (15–20 students)

Politechnization and General Education, USSR and USA (about 130 students)

*Summer Semester, 1961**Lectures*

Modern Educational Systems (750–1100 students)

Seminars

Oberseminar. Methods of Comparative Education (about 20 students)

The Lesson Plan and Its Principles (about 130 students)

*Winter Semester, 1961–1962**Lectures*

Educational Movements before 1933 (750–1100 students)

Seminars

Oberseminar. Doctoral dissertation themes including those in comparative education; accounts by foreign educators about education in their lands; new literature in comparative education. Educational movements before 1933. Further work.

The Hochschule für die Internationale Pädagogische Forschung in Frankfurt is another full-time center of importance in Germany. Founded in 1959 under the directorship of Professor Erich Hylla, a distinguished

German comparative educator (emeritus since 1956), this institute sponsors research in comparative education (Dr. Walter Schultze), in economics of education (Dr. Friedrich Edding), in educational sociology (Dr. Eugen Lemberg), in educational tests and measurements (Prof. Hylla), and others. The institute houses an extensive library on comparative and international education and sponsors resident research by faculty and resident fellows. It organizes tours, conferences, and exhibitions. Its publications include:

by Professor Erich Hylla, (and W. L. Wrinkle) *Die Schulen in Westeuropa* (Bad Nauheim: Christian-Verlag, 1953)

Die Schule der Demokratie. Ein Aufriss des Bildungswesens der Vereinigten Staaten (Berlin und Leipzig: Langensalza, 1928)

John Dewey: Demokratie und Erziehung (Deutsche Bearbeitung von Democracy and Education), 2d ed. (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1949)

by Dr. Friedrich Edding, *Internationale Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Ausgaben für Schulen und Hochschulen* (Kiel: Kieler Studien, 1958)

and with Ingvar Svennilson and Lionel Elvin, *Targets for Education in Europe. A Study of Policy Considerations Related to Economic Growth* (Paris: OECD, 1961)

by Dr. Walter Schultze, *Englands Schulen heute. (Mitteilungen und Nachrichten der Hochschule für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung. Frankfurt: Sonderheft May, 1960)*¹⁸

The next comparative education center in Germany is supported by the federal government. Following a prewar tradition, the government maintains in Bonn a documentation and information center, the heir of the Central Institute for Education and Instruction founded in Berlin in 1915. Dr. Franz Hilker joined the Berlin institute in 1925, recreated it in Wiesbaden in 1947, and saw it incorporated in the permanent conference of the ministers of education in 1957. Dr. Hilker is the author of *Vergleichende Pädagogik*¹⁹ (Huebner, 1962) and is now retired. His center houses a library of comparative and international sources. It helps with the preparation of the official annual report on German education to the International Education Conference in Geneva and is responsible for the preparation of the German display stand in the permanent international education exhibition in the International Bureau of Education in Geneva. In Germany itself, it serves as an information center for foreign students and visitors. Its journal *Bildung und Erziehung*—under the direction of Dr. Rudolf Lengert—carries frequent articles on comparative education. A series of

booklets published by the center is entitled *Vergleichende Erziehung*, and contains the following titles in translation:

Swedish Institute in Stockholm, *The Swedish School Reform*

Paul Ziertman, *The American College and the German Senior Secondary School*

Gottfried Herzfeld, *The Swiss School System*

Wilhelm Blume and Gerhard Frühbrodt, *The Thirteenth Year* (Germany)

Max Schulz, *Education in the School and State* (comparison of constitutional clauses in education on a world-wide basis)

There is no official link between the center and the University of Bonn. The incumbent of the chair, Professor Joseph Derbolav, has a standing interest in comparative education. His publications include:²⁰

Problem und Aufgabe einer pädagogischen Anthropologie (Bonn: Institut für Erziehungswissenschaft, Universität Bonn, 1959)

Wesen und Werden der Realschule (Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1960)

Wesen und Formen der Gymnasialbildung (Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1957)

Besides the major centers enumerated above, many other German posts and individuals devote themselves to the study of comparative education. To name a few, in West Berlin as in other localities comparative education is offered as a subject in the *Pädagogische Hochschule*. At the Free University of Berlin Dr. Siegfried Baske gave comparative lectures on Goethe and Makarenko in the summer of 1961, while Mr. Helmut Grothe dealt with Soviet educational history. Also in Berlin were published two works of interest to comparative educators, edited by Hans Espe. The first, *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Orbis, 1956), is a symposium of articles by authorities from Germany and abroad. The second is a German translation of Marc-Antoine Jullien's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten zu einem Werk über die Vergleichende Erziehung* (Orbis, 1954). The International Schoolbook Institute in Braunschweig, led by Dr. George Eckert, sponsors international conferences designed to aid the rewriting of textbooks from an international perspective. Dr. Leonhard Froese at the University of Marburg specializes in Soviet education.²¹ Dr. Gerhard Mobus at the University of Main also lectures on Marxism and education. In Munich the Institute for the Study of the USSR traces the fortunes of Soviet education. One permanent research worker on the staff is assigned to this task and is supported by an excellent library of Russian sources. In 1958 the institute organized a seminar on Soviet education, which gave rise to *Politics of Soviet Education*, edited by George Z. F. Bereday and Jaan

Pennar (New York: Praeger, 1960). The institute's *Bulletin* as well as its periodical special publications occasionally devote space to education.

FRANCE

France, the country of Marc-Antoine Jullien and Alexis de Toqueville, has long been committed to the study of comparative education. The volume of current work is not extensive, but hopefully a renaissance is under way. As mentioned previously, the Algiers Commission, which proposed the new program for the reform of the French school system for the postwar period, has sought extensively comparative evidence to formulate the provisions of their report. The battle for the legislation of the new law completed in 1959 had thus been based on comparative premises.²²

At present the University of Paris supplies the leadership in the field. At the Sorbonne, Professor Maurice Debesse²³ has taken an interest in comparative education and in 1960 he organized a seminar in theory and practice of comparative education, which involves over 30 students. Several doctoral theses in the field are in various stages of preparation. The Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Paris has also taken an active interest in comparative education. Since 1959 it has been engaged in collecting documentation and studies of special problems related to education in underdeveloped countries. The institute is the home of a special society, *Tiers Monde*, with a journal of the same name, devoted to educational as well as economic research in nonindustrial areas. In another project, Michel Debauvais, the counselor of the institute, is engaged in a depth study of university admissions on a world scene.

The French government also takes an interest in the field. Collaborating closely with the Sorbonne and other institutions is the *Institut Pédagogique National* in Paris. Its documentation division includes the *Musée Pédagogique*, which houses materials on French and foreign schools. Its division of research is led by Roger Gal, the author of *Histoire de l'Education* (Paris: Presses Universitaires 1948) and other books and a frequent contributor to comparative literature.²⁴ Attached to the institute is another enterprise of the ministry of education directed by Madame E. Hatinguais, the inspectress general of the ministry and the director of the *Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques* at Sèvres, an experimental secondary school of progressive persuasion that includes a large library of sources and residence facilities for foreign scholars as well as French researchers. The National Pedagogical Institute also has a section for international school correspondence which facilitates letter writing between

French and foreign school children. Another section for pedagogical studies overseas collaborates with UNESCO on development education in under-developed countries. The institute runs occasional seminars in comparative education designed to explain French education to foreign scholars. Its publications, which include several journals, are headed by *Education Nationale*, a journal devoted to French education. Sections on foreign education can occasionally be found in the institute's *Le Courrier de la Recherche Pédagogique*²⁵ and in the international series entitled *Mémoires et Documents Scolaires*. Affiliated to the institute are organizations such as *La fédération des organisations de correspondance et d'échange scolaires* and *L'association internationale d'informations scolaires universitaires et professionnelles*, with its bulletin *Informations universitaires et professionnelles internationales*.²⁶

Paris is also the home of UNESCO, with its many facets of international work that are of vital importance to comparative education. It is impossible to summarize the entire work of this organization here. Suffice it to refer the reader to the volume on the subject by W. H. C. Laves and C. A. Thomson, *UNESCO, Purpose, Progress, Prospects* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1957). Mention will be made here especially of the UNESCO clearing house, an extensive library of comparative documentation and of the department of education guided by Dr. L. Fernig. This department contains a division of comparative education headed until his retirement by Dr. Howard Hayden.²⁷ The publications of UNESCO include a journal, *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, and the series entitled *Monographs in Fundamental Education*, *Problems in Education*, and *Studies on Compulsory Education*.²⁸ UNESCO also publishes the standard world handbook of educational information now entitled *World Survey of Education* (three volumes). Its photo offset broad sheets contain two series entitled *Education Abstracts* and *Educational Studies and Documents*. It also publishes separate works such as the *International Dictionary of Adult Education* and the volume in preparation, a major glossary on educational terms in comparative perspective. As its name implies, the clearing house acts as an information center. It procures, selects, and dispatches documents and prepared bibliographies and surveys in order to fulfill requests of member states and of their colleges for comparative information. The clearing house also encourages the development of clearing houses and documentation centers in member countries. It assists, edits, or annotates at the request of the editors special issues of journals interested in international editions.

Among other French comparative education activities is the partici-

pation of Professor G. Mialaret of the University of Caen in the International Evaluation of Educational Attainment with the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg.²⁹ There is an Institute of Comparative Education at the University Aix-Marseilles, directed by Herbert Maza. It accommodates American scholars interested in doing research in southern France. The Organization of European Economic Cooperation (now OECD), through its office of scientific research, also conducts comparative enquiries. It was engaged in a large-scale project on comparative economics in education with which both Dr. Edding of Frankfurt and Mr. Vaizey of Oxford were associated. This office conducts surveys of training scientists in various countries; nine reports in mimeographed form have been published. A more general educational enquiry, with headquarters in Brussels, is conducted for the OECD by the Institute of the European Community for University Studies, headed by M. Kohnstamm. This committee has undertaken a comprehensive survey of education and scientific training in the six countries of the OECD as against the United States and the USSR. The enquiry is directed toward establishing a common policy, especially at the university level in the member states. It is in this project that Maurice Poignant has done major comparative work.

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Among other European countries Switzerland is the home of the important International Bureau of Education. Established in 1925 in Geneva, it is a large documentation center in comparative and international education. Under the direction of Jean Piaget and Pedro Rosselló, it contains a library of sources amassed from all school systems of the world and a pedagogical museum in which almost one hundred nations maintain permanent exhibition stands. The bureau publishes a quarterly *Bulletin* composed of reports from all participating countries and of bibliographies of sources as they arrive and are catalogued. Its *International Yearbook of Education* presents annual reports from member countries and a comparative summary written by Pedro Rosselló. The bureau also publishes special series of reports. *The Organization of Special Education for Mentally Deficient Children* (no. 214) and *Preparation of General Secondary School Curricula* (no. 216) are examples. Finally, the bureau publishes the proceedings of its annual international conferences, at which most of the member governments are represented.

Through his appointment as professor of comparative education at the University of Geneva, Pedro Rosselló, author of *La teoría de las*

corrientes educativas (Rio de Janeiro: UNESCO, 1960), *Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris* (Geneva, 1943), *Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education* (London: Institute of Education, University of London, 1941—also available in French), and *Allons-nous vers une école d'action, de raison, ou de passion* (Geneva 1944), offers courses at the undergraduate and graduate level. An interesting method of teaching developed by Dr. Rosselló deserves mention. While also using other approaches, he has facilitated comparisons by selecting a typical village or city school system in the student's country; he then asks the student to describe this system as if it were a foreign country. This method has the advantage of dealing with small territorial units, which are much more comparable than countries of varying size and history. The exercise of "transplantation" of the foreign educational system to one's own helps greatly to drive home the mechanics and salient features of educational comparisons. Two courses, meeting every two weeks, are offered in two sections. "Great Pedagogical Currents and Teacher Training" forms one unit; "Comparative Study of Pedagogical Theory and Pedagogical Practice" forms the other. Both are taught by Dr. Rosselló.

In Italy interest in comparative education is gaining momentum. Professor Luigi Volpicelli of the University of Rome has long been interested in the subject. He is editor of the *Problemi della Pedagogia*, which often carries comparative articles and which was noteworthy between 1955 and 1960 for five special issues on the Soviet Union, the United States, England, France, and Germany.³⁰ Dr. Volpicelli collaborated (as did Dr. Nicholas Hans of London) with the late Dr. Sergius Hessen, a Polish comparative educator. From such collaborations came his *Storia della Scuola Sovietica* (Brescia: La Scuola, 1950; also available in French: Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1954). Dr. Volpicelli is also the author of several books and co-editor, with this writer, of *Public Education in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958). He is an editor and contributor to *Enciclopedia pedagogico-didattica* (Milan: Viola, 1948), which contains monographs on English-, French-, Spanish-, and Portuguese-speaking countries and on Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, East Europe, the Middle and Far East, the Arab countries, and Israel. The Institute of Pedagogy at the University of Rome is widely visited by foreign scholars. It alone in Italy has a chair in comparative education, currently occupied by Professor Roberto Neri.

Interest in comparative education also exists in other Italian universities. Professor Lamberto Borghi of the University of Florence, who was educated in the United States, has written books on Italian education,

among them *Educazione e Autorità nell'Italia Moderna* (La Nuova Italia, 1950) and *Educazione e Scuola nell'Italia d'Oggi* (La Nuova Italia, 1958).³¹ At the University of Milan, Dr. Aldo Visalberghi recently published two comparative works, *La Scuola in Italia e in Europa* (*Rivista Pirelli*, no. 5, October 1958; no. 6, December 1958; no. 1, February 1959), and with Gino Fantin, *Televisione e Cultura* (*Rivista Pirelli*, no. 1, February 1961; no. 2, April 1961; no. 3, July 1961). At the University of Bologna, Professor F. Battaglia participates in the work of the Kohnstamm Institute on the comparative status of education and science training in the six countries of the OECD. Also the ministry of public instruction publishes the *Rivista di legislazione scolastica comparata*, a journal specifically dedicated to comparative school studies.

Elsewhere in Europe, the Netherlands is the most active center. Dr. M. J. Langeveld, of international importance in education and a frequent contributor to international sources, teaches at the University of Utrecht. Both professors at the University of Amsterdam evince interest in comparative education. Dr. Philip Idenburg is director of The Netherlands Central Statistical Bureau at The Hague and leads the *Nutsseminarium* in education at Amsterdam. He has a continuous interest in comparative education and serves as chairman of the UNESCO Committee on Educational Statistics; he is the author of, among other titles, *Inleiding tot de Vergelijkende Opvoedkunde* (J. B. Wolters, 1959) and *Schets i an het Nederlandse Schoolwezen* (J. B. Wolters, 1960), which incorporates comparative parts. Professor H. W. F. Stellwag is the author of *The Problem of General Didactics in Post-primary Academic Education* (J. B. Wolters, 1961), and, with P. C. van de Griend, *De Leraarsopleiding* (J. B. Wolters, 1959). The latter work reflects the study Dr. Stellwag has made of the training of secondary school teachers in Germany and England. She also took part in a commission which studied comprehensive schools in England and Sweden. The current director of the *Nutsseminarium* at the University of Amsterdam is Dr. Elzo Velema.

In Belgium, Professor R. L. Plancke at the University of Ghent is director of the seminar on historical and comparative pedagogy. He is editor of *Paedagogica Belgica*, and *Scientia Paedagogica*, reviews of the International Secretariat for the University Study of Education, and *Paedagogica Historica*, an international journal on the history of education that follows the format of the *International Review of Education*. Dr. Plancke authored with others the reports of the first and second international congresses of the University Teachers of Pedagogical Sciences. The conferences dealt with "Teaching of Pedagogical Sciences in Western

Europe" and "Experimentation in Pedagogy," respectively. Brussels is also the scene of some comparative activity. Professor Sylvain De Coster of the University of Brussels has contributed to comparative sources.³² The ministry of education publishes an international journal, *L'Actualité Pédagogique à l'Etranger*.

There are scholars in other areas of western Europe, for example, Professor Torsten Husén at the University of Stockholm, Professor Victor García Hoz at the University of Madrid, Professor O. K. Kyöstiö at the Teachers College in Jyväskylä, Finland, Professor Refia Shemin at the University of Istanbul, Professors B. Z. Egeman and Alexandre Vexliard at the University of Ankara, and many others who devote some attention to comparative education. Western Europe and the United States represent the greatest concentration of work in the field. Outside these areas, the Soviet Union, Brazil, and especially Japan deserve mention.

THE SOVIET UNION

In the Soviet Union there is one center devoted to the study of comparative education.³³ The Sector for the Study of Pedagogy Abroad forms a part of the Institute of Theory and History of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The sector was established in 1946 and was reorganized in 1955 under the directorship of Professor V. A. Veikshan. Now under the direction of Dr. M. F. Shabaeva, it is housed in the building of the Ushinsky Educational Library and shares all its facilities. The sector consists of some twenty research workers who specialize in gathering information from all school systems of the globe. The task of the sector is threefold. It engages in scientific research in the field of school organization, school practice, and educational theory in foreign countries; it compiles and publishes an annual periodical, *Pedagogika i narodnoe obrazovanie v zarubezhnykh stranakh*, containing abstracts from foreign books and magazines on education; and it acts as a reference and information center for outside enquiries. The sector also supplies materials to Soviet policy-makers as they plan reforms of their own educational system. All members of the staff are divided into three categories: senior research workers, junior research workers, and assistants, grouped by countries of specialization, with single research workers covering some countries of lesser magnitude. The sector now follows educational changes in most countries and concentrates each year on researching special problems. For example, in 1959 the sector studied "Education for Life and Work"; in 1960 the theme was "Character Education and Theory of Education Abroad."

The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and other state publishing houses occasionally put out books on education in foreign countries, and the volume of these has recently increased. The following are examples:

- A. I. Markushevich, E. I. Monoszon, and M. N. Ryakin, *Shkola i prosveshchenie v narodnom Kitae* (School and Education in National China) (Moscow: Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR, 1957)
- M. F. Shabaeva, *Shkola stran narodnoi demokratii na sovremennom etape* (Schools in the People's Democracies at Present) (Moscow: Znanie, 1961)
- G. A. Kasuin and R. S. Joffe, *Sistema narodnogo obrazovaniia i sodержanie shkolnogo obuchenii v Italii* (National System of Education and Process of School in Italy) (Moscow: Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR, 1961)
- T. I. Kushtina, *Prosveshchenie v nezavisimom Afganistane* (Education in Independent Afghanistan) (Moscow: Editorial Office of Western Literature, 1961)
- V. A. Veikshan, ed., *Shkola v SShA, Anglii i Frantsii* (School in the U.S.A., England and France) (Moscow: Znanie, 1960)
- Z. A. Malkova, *O vospitanii uchashchikhsia v stranakh sotsializma* (On Education of School Children in Socialist Countries) (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1961)
- V. V. Motylev, et al, *Sistema obrazovaniia v nekotorykh kapiatalisticheskikh stranakh* (School System in Some Capitalist Countries) (Moscow: All Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information, 1960)

No Soviet university or pedagogical institute offers specific courses in comparative education, but comparative materials are included in courses in general pedagogy and in history of education in universities and institutes. Some faculty members, notably Professor V. A. Veikshan at the Lenin Pedagogical Institute in Moscow, have an interest in the field and follow foreign sources. The periodicals *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, *Narodnoe Obrazovanie*, and others contain sections on education abroad, either in several issues or occasionally. This writer served as an exchange professor at the University of Moscow in April 1961 and delivered lectures on comparative education. He was the guest of the chair of pedagogy, a part of the Faculty of Philosophy, occupied currently by Professor S. M. Shabalov. Some comparative work is done at the university as well as at the Lenin Institute in the *aspirantura* program. For example, aspirant I. A. Orlova at Moscow University is preparing a dissertation on teacher training in the United States.

Some work in comparative education is also done in countries within the Soviet sphere of influence. For example, the chair of the organization of education at the University of Warsaw, Poland, concerns itself with comparative materials. Professor Bogdan Nawrockyński, the incumbent, has published a study on French schools. An adjunct to the chair, Dr. Tadeusz Wiloch, has specialized in the study of the Soviet and other educa-

tional systems.³⁴ Professor Wincenty Okoń, a Ford fellow to the United States in 1960 and an authority on didactics, also has interests in the comparative field. One of his books has been translated into German and Japanese.

LATIN AMERICA

In Brazil all universities include comparative education in the official programs and offer courses in the field within the work of the faculties of philosophy. In each a faculty member devotes himself to the study, Professor José Gomes de Campos, for example, taught the subject at the University of Rio Grande de Sul. In Rio de Janeiro, attached to the ministry of education, is the *Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais*. While concerned chiefly with Brazilian education, the center is a focal point also for international studies. Its director, Dr. Anísio S. Teixeira, author of *A educação e a crise brasileira* (Companhia Editora Nacional, 1956) and of *A escola brasileira e a estabilidade social* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1957) was educated in the United States and travels frequently abroad. Dr. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago was the codirector of the center on behalf of UNESCO for several years. The center publishes a journal, *Educação e ciências sociais*. It invites into residence educators from the United States and Europe. Another outpost, *Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais*, has published an area study on Brazil³⁵ by J. Roberto Moreira, a Brazilian educator with comparative interests. Dr. Moreira has done work at the comparative education center of the University of Chicago and is writing, with Dr. Havighurst, a comparative study of Latin American education. UNESCO takes an active interest in Brazil and sponsors projects in São Paulo and elsewhere. I. L. Kandel's *New Era in Education* has been translated into Portuguese, as has Nicholas Hans' *Comparative Education*.

In other countries of Latin America there is also interest in comparative education. At the University of Columbia Dr. Guillermo Nanetti has sought to apply North American educational experiences to Colombian education. The same is true of Dr. Augustin Nieto Caballero, founder of the *Gimnasio Moderno*, who has applied in practice the foreign theoretical movements in education. Dr. José Mariá Chávez, director of the *Fondo Universitario Nacional*, was educated abroad, travels frequently, and is in charge of the traffic of foreign visiting professors to Colombia. In Santiago, at the University of Chile Dr. Irma Salas travels frequently and has comparative interests. She is one of the current directors of the Compara-

tive Education Society. In Peru Professor Carlos Cueto at the University of San Marcos, Lima, has strong interests in comparative education and worked for several years for the Pan-American Union in Washington. In Argentina the tradition of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento has been kept up through the work of Lorenzo Luzuriaga, among whose many books *La educación nueva* (Editorial Losa, 1952) is most directly relevant to comparative education. At the University of Buenos Aires, Professor Juan Mantovani, who died in 1961, was the author of *La educación popular en América* (Editorial Nova, 1958) and *Épocas y hombres de la educación argentina* (El Ateneo, 1950).³⁶ Professor R. J. Havighurst was a visiting professor at Buenos Aires in 1961 and made a comparative study of school pupils of the Chicago and Buenos Aires areas. In Ecuador, Professor Julio Larrea, author of *La educación en los Estados Unidos* (Quito: Editorial Universitaria, 1960) and of *Problemas de la educación ecuatoriana* (Quito: Talleres Graficos de Educación, 1939),³⁷ is active in the field. Professor Larrea's most recent appointment was at the University of Mexico.

OTHER AREAS

In East Asia, Japan, steeped in the tradition of the Meiji reforms, leads in comparative research.³⁸ The first book relevant to comparative education was written by Yukichi Fukuzawa in 1869 under the title *Seio-jijo* (The State of Things in Western Countries). Since then interest has been great. At present the University of Kyushu in Fukuoka maintains a research institute of comparative education and culture. Originally under the directorship of its founder Professor M. Hiratsuka,³⁹ and now under Professor Y. Ushijima,⁴⁰ the institute specializes in comparative concerns such as moral education, church and state, and education and culture in Asia, Europe, and America. The institute publishes the *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture*. The first issue in March 1957 was entirely in English. Subsequent issues carry English tables of contents. The institute has been host to several visiting scholars from Europe and the United States, and its scholars in turn have traveled to the United States and Europe to gather materials. The first course in comparative education in Japan was given at Kyushu in 1947, and by 1954 the institute was in full operation. It maintains a staff of nine persons, including two professors, and has attracted substantial grants from the ministry of education and from American foundations. Professors Shigeo Masui, Tsuneo Ayabe, Yoshimi Inoue, Bunkichi Iwahashi,⁴¹ and others are connected with the institute. In Tokyo, the University of Tokyo

offers a course in comparative education, though not every year. Professor Tokiomi Kaigo, now retired, has a strong interest in the field. Other interested professors include Taro Yamanouchi, Morihiko Okatsu, Seiichi Miyahara, and Akira Igarashi. All have traveled extensively. This writer was Fulbright Professor at Tokyo University in 1962 and taught two courses in comparative education as well as giving lectures at the Universities of Kyoto, Kyushu, International Christian University, Hiroshima, Hokkaido, and several others. Professors Joseph Lauwerys and Brian Holmes from London University also had periods of service at Kyushu University. Tokyo University took the initiative in organizing the world congress of comparative education in 1959. The proceedings have been published as *Proceedings of the International Conference on Educational Research* (with supplement) (Organizing Committee, International Conference on Educational Research, 1961). At the International Christian University, Professor Tetsuya Kobayashi teaches a course in comparative education and writes on the subject.⁴² Dr. Ben Duke also has comparative interests.⁴³ Professor Kanji Hatano at the Ochanomizu Women's University has an interest in comparative education, especially in audiovisual materials.⁴⁴ Professor Shigeo Ohuchi of Tokyo University of Education and Mr. Hiroshi Myazaki of the Institute of Democratic Education are active in the field, the latter by organizing comparative education conferences and sponsoring publications.⁴⁵ In Tokyo also there is a Society for the Study of Soviet Education, which publishes its own journal.⁴⁶

At the ministry of education the staff of the research section under Mr. Ryori Ito carries out comparative studies in addition to publishing an excellent roster of publications on Japan in English.⁴⁷ Connected with the ministry is the National Institute for Educational Research, where a group of scholars now under the direction of Professor Masunori Hiratsuka and Mr. Katsumi Yuasa are engaged in intensive research on several countries.⁴⁸

Outside Tokyo, Professor Susumi Ikeda teaches comparative education at Kyoto University, where Professor Iichi Sagara is also located.⁴⁹ At the University of Hiroshima, Professors Risaku Kawachi, Shido Sumerigi, Michiya Shimbori, and Yutaka Okihara are interested in the field. At the Municipal University of Osaka is Professor Shotaro Shibano, author with others of *Methodology of Comparative Education* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shoten, 1957). The University of Hokkaido has a general section in comparative education. These examples indicate clearly that the field of comparative education has vast potential in Japan. Kandel's and Hans' books have been translated into Japanese and there is a vast literature in the field by Japanese scholars.

Outside Japan interest in comparative education is shown by educators in China and India. In Taiwan the Taiwan Normal University conducts courses in comparative education. Professor P. S. Sun in the department of social education is author of *General Survey of Most Recent Educational Development in the U.S., Europe, and Japan* (Taipei: World Book Company, 1955). Professor K. T. Ley in the department of psychology and educational administration is co-author of *Educational Systems in Selected Countries of the World* (Taipei: Cheng-Chung Book Co., 1958). Both books are in Chinese. The university, in addition to teaching, runs the English Language Training Center, the Overseas Teacher Building, a center for the training of the overseas Chinese, and the cooperative program with UNESCO dealing with exchange of professors.

Several Indian universities also exhibit interest in the field. Dr. L. Mukherjee of Lucknow University published a textbook, *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists* (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1959). One may also cite J. Chandra and R. C. Gupta, *An Outline of American Education for All Students of Comparative Education* (Shiva Publications, 1954). Examples of available books on areas are Yamunabai Hirlekar, *Education in Germany* and *University Education in Western Germany* (both Bombay: Popular Book Digest, 1956) and *Kindergarten in Germany* (Bombay: Popular Book Digest, 1950). The teaching of comparative education in India has been influenced by English traditions. At the University of Bombay, to take one example, three faculty members in the secondary training college take an interest in the field. Comparative education may be offered as one specialization for the Ed. M. degree. Two papers must be offered for examination, one dealing with the organization of education at all levels in the United Kingdom, the United States, the USSR, China, and Japan; the other dealing with special problems, for example, illiteracy or vocational or social education, teacher training, or educational finance (in the same countries as above with the addition of the Philippines, Mexico, Denmark, and Turkey). There is also a compulsory paper on education for international understanding in the concentration on philosophy of education and the M. Ed. programs in history of educational thought: Brahmanic, Buddhist, Chinese, Islamic, European and American.⁵⁰ Dr. S. Shukla at the Central Institute of Education in Delhi, India, also has comparative interests.

Comparative education courses are offered in other countries. There is a course at the University of the Philippines and work can be offered for the M. Ed. or Ed. D. program. The University of Singapore is the current home of Professor T. L. Green, an authority on Ceylon.⁵¹ The course in comparative education is taught by Dr. Tai Chen-Hwa. At the

University of Malaya, Professor Ruth Wong and Mr. Chai Hon-Chan are developing the field. The work of the Bangkok Institute of Child Study at the Bangkok College of Education is devoted to, among other projects, cross-cultural research on child development. The present director is Dr. Lamaimas Saradatta. At the American University of Beirut, Dr. Habib Kurani is interested in the comparative field. Comparative education is taught as a course and several graduate theses have dealt with different countries, particularly the Moslem areas. At the University of Addis Ababa the registrar, Dr. Margaret Gillet, has a doctorate in the field. At the University of Hong Kong Mr. R. F. Simpson, the senior lecturer in education, is preparing comparative education study. Substantial work on Chinese Communist education is also carried out by the Union Research Institute in Hong Kong. The institute employs over 70 people and has a large library and personnel file pertaining to Communist China. It also monitors mainland radio stations.

The roster of teaching and research efforts could be multiplied to include many countries. Our survey of facilities for the study of comparative education has been of necessity incomplete. In several universities in areas not mentioned in this discussion there are faculty members evincing part time interest in the field. Several governments and other agencies maintain programs or people to study foreign schools. In many places scholars who concentrate on analysis of education in their own countries regard themselves (with some reason when they explain their countries to foreign audiences) as participating in the work of comparative education. Many men have been educated or travel abroad and their work is colored by these experiences. This survey has not attempted to present their claims and contributions. This chapter, rather, sought to identify representative centers and works in which there is a basic commitment, at least in theory, behind the various offerings and publications on foreign educational systems. Even so, there is great, perhaps too great, variation in practices surveyed and standards achieved. Too much difference may mean that workers in one center have no criteria by which to judge the work of colleagues in another center. Such lack of control can easily lead to a dilution that bodes ill for the relatively young discipline of comparative education. This is particularly so in the present period of expansion. As the centers of comparative school studies are spreading there is, as always in times of great excitement and growth, a danger that quality will be submerged by quantity. The upgrading of the field must thus remain the major task of comparative educators amidst the calls to expansion. The centers that have a tradition of commitment to comparative education must act of necessity as models.

Chapter Twelve

The Printed Sources

The literature in comparative education is abundant, but it will be readily granted that it is uneven. In all fields writings range from first class to the diluted versions that discredit their authors; hence in comparative education, as in all fields, reputable scholars are called upon to use discernment. Laymen must look to experts for the recommendation of the treatments that are bona fide.

A wide range of books in comparative education and related fields may be found in general bibliographies. In this chapter only the most relevant categories of materials, such as handbooks, textbooks, yearbooks, and periodicals are singled out for detailed consideration. It should be noted that not all the books cited here have been selected on the most exacting standards of scholarship because in many cases even the less rigorously written sources contain materials or represent opinions that are useful as bases for more thorough research.

HANDBOOKS

The principal aid of the researcher in a ready reference form are the handbooks. These are compendia of information on systems of education throughout the world, not always accurate or exhaustive but well suited to give a quick general picture of schools and much useful information about them.

A UNESCO reference source is the first among the handbooks. The *World Survey of Education* is conceived as a periodical publication. The first volume, published in 1955 and containing information up to 1953, is an expanded and improved version of an earlier compendium, *World Handbook of Educational Organization and Statistics*, published

in 1952. The *World Survey* is the standard major reference source on educational organizations of the world. It covers some 260 countries and includes separate sections on the colonies, trusteeships, and other dependent territories. The second volume of the *World Survey* was published in 1959 and deals with primary education. In addition to bringing the 1955 volume up to date, it contains expanded text and statistics on elementary education. Volume 3, which gives special emphasis to secondary and technical education, was published in 1962. It is planned to start the cycle again by publishing a general volume in 1966.

The comparison of the three volumes reveals an expanding coverage. The 1952 book deals with some 60 countries, whereas the three later volumes present accounts of over 200 countries each. The first volume is prefaced by one general chapter on comparative education and international statistics; the 1955 volume has two separate chapters dealing with comparative descriptions of educational systems and statistical reporting as well as a glossary of school terms. The 1959 volume, which has 1,387 pages as against 943 in 1955, contains two general chapters on education in world perspective and on the progress of primary education since 1930, as well as a bibliography that lists the major pedagogical journals in various countries. The 1962 volume (1482 pp.) contains eight general chapters, including one on secondary education periodicals.

M. T. Sassnett's *Educational Systems of the World* (Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Southern California Press, 1952) retains some usefulness as a second reference source. This volume, presented in photo offset, is specifically geared to the needs of the American college admissions officers in that it aids them in evaluating foreign secondary school credentials. Though some of the materials assembled inevitably tend to grow out of date, a special usefulness of the descriptions is that they distinguish between prewar and postwar systems where appropriate and are exhaustive on the length and meaning of various school and college qualifications. The volume deals with some 80 countries and in addition furnishes a guide to research on foreign qualifications and a bibliography of sources especially valuable for the data between the two world wars.

Lexikon der Pädagogik, edited by Heindrich Kleinert, is a standard Swiss pedagogical dictionary (Bern: A. Francke, 1950-1952). Of its three volumes, two are devoted to general pedagogical concepts, which are arranged alphabetically. Of interest to comparative educators is the third volume, which contains separate sections on history of education, biographies of prominent educators, and descriptions of some 90 educational systems. The longest articles are on European countries and the United

States. The *Lexikon* is worth consulting on the Arab states, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Egypt, England, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. There are diagrams on most of the above-mentioned school systems.

Lexikon der Pädagogik is not to be confused with the *Lexikon der Pädagogik der Gegenwart*, a two-volume German source published for the *Münster Deutsches Institut für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (Freiburg: Herder, 1950). Interspersed alphabetically among other matter are short articles on some 25 countries, all European apart from Egypt and Afghanistan. There are also descriptive articles on education in each of the prewar German *Länder*.

A Soviet source, the two-volume *Pedagogicheskii Slovar'*, was published in Moscow in 1960 by the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (RSFSR) and is a general dictionary of education. It includes, however, articles on educational systems in some 30 different countries, in addition to articles on all of the republics within the Soviet Union. Underdeveloped countries such as Lebanon, Uruguay, Honduras, Malaya, and Tunis are represented as well as all countries of Europe and of the Soviet bloc. The descriptive account of each country is reinforced by a diagram of the school system. The article on the United States occupies six pages.

The Italian *Enciclopedia pedagogico-didattica* (Luigi Volpicelli, ed.) exemplifies similar dictionaries in other countries, as does *Dizionario di terminologia scolastica comparata*, published by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction.

One must include L. S. Botts and J. Solomon's *Complete Handbook of Educational Systems: British, French, Russian, American* (Chicago: National Debate Research Company) to warn that its title is misleading. In 1958 the National Society for High School Debates sponsored a discussion topic in the field of comparative education. The theme of the debates was whether the United States would benefit from the adoption of an English, French, or Russian educational system. Views on the matter were sought from a wide range of educational authorities, and the most representative replies were published in two volumes, *American Education*, edited by Bower Aly (Lucas Brothers, 1958). Excerpts from these formed the evidence used in debates and were collected in the Botts and Solomon mimeographed edition, together with short systematic descriptions of each educational system, a schedule of essential elements in each of them, bibliographies, and affirmative and negative debate briefs. The volume, now out of print, is interesting as a compendium of opinions,

adult and adolescent, informed and less informed. It provides a guide to the knowledge and feeling of Americans about foreign systems at the time of Sputnik. Somewhat similar in type is the *Handbook of Education in Asia, Australia and New Zealand*. This 81-page booklet, containing brief descriptions of the educational systems of Asian countries (including the Middle East), was published in New Delhi in 1960 on behalf of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.

The international handbooks in the field of primary and secondary education should be supplemented by various national sources available in different quantity and quality for several countries. To use England as an example, its ministry of education publishes every year an illuminating annual report dealing with educational progress at the primary and secondary levels.¹ This practice is followed by all Commonwealth countries,² Japan—which published these and several related sources in English,³ Turkey, in French or English,⁴ and a few others. Special publications and circulars of the British ministry are also of great importance.⁵ The University Grants Committee publishes annual and quinquennial reports covering the activities of the universities in Britain.⁶ Reports on education by various government commissions are abundant and revealing since some lay the groundwork for subsequent acts of Parliament on education.⁷ A host of unofficial publications, pamphlets, and lists of members of various school organizations adds greatly to the knowledge of the field.⁸ The British Information Services in New York publishes booklets (revised from time to time) describing the educational organization of the country; it also issues periodical mimeographed notes on education as well as on related subjects.⁹

English schools, especially private schools, are described in several handbooks that contain fairly exhaustive descriptions of each school, with names of masters, numbers of pupils, subjects taught, and facilities. Of these *The Education Authorities Directory and Annual* (in 1960 in its 58th year) is the most general in scope. Published in London by the School Government Publishing Company (664 pp.), this source contains lists of members of the education committees and rosters of national and private schools, with names of senior faculty members and other information. Other sources, for the most part confined to private schools, are *The Public Schools and Preparatory Schools Year Book*, edited by J. F. Burnet and L. P. Dealtry (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961, 1,066 pp.); *Paton's List of Schools and Tutors* (London: J. J. Paton, 1958, 472 pp.); and *Schools 1961*, 38th ed. (London: Truman & Knightley, 1,016 pp.). There are similar if not equally abundant materials in most

countries. An example is a list of Swiss schools, *Die Schweiz, ihre Erziehung und Bildungsanstalten*, 25th edition, edited by E. Fischer (Zurich: Dubendorf, 1960-1961).

The university level is better served by handbooks than either the secondary or primary. M. M. Chambers' *The Universities of the World outside U.S.A.* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1950, 924 pp.) inaugurated a series of listings on the universities in the postwar period. This publication covers short historical listings of subject, faculties, and student numbers in universities and equivalent higher institutions in 86 countries. Part I contains five general articles dealing with the universities in world perspective, international and professional organizations, student and teacher exchanges, and a review of higher education by world regions. The listing on each country in Part II is preceded by a descriptive and analytical article discussing the problems that higher education faces. The general and prefatory articles, rather than the more detailed factual information, make this volume still worthwhile.

As regards up-to-date facts, Chambers has now been replaced by two more recent publications. The first of these is the *International Handbook of Universities*, published by the International Association of the Universities in Paris and edited by H. M. R. Keyes in 1959. The second enlarged edition appeared in 1963. With the exception of the universities in the British Commonwealth and the United States, this publication lists faculties, student numbers, and other relevant information on universities throughout the world including the Soviet Union. The *International Handbook* covers some 70 countries.

The universities of the British Commonwealth are dealt with by a companion publication, *The Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*, edited by J. F. Foster (London: Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth). The 1960 volume is the thirty-seventh edition. It contains listings of higher schools in all the major territories associated with Great Britain, including the Republic of Ireland.

The publishing role of the American Council on Education, which distributes the above volumes in the United States, is now limited to two corresponding American volumes. These are *American Universities and Colleges*, edited by Mary Irwin and in its eighth edition in 1960, and *American Junior Colleges*, edited by E. J. Gleazer and in its fifth edition in 1960.

A more general handbook on the universities is *The World of Learning* (London: Europa Publications, 1960-1961). This volume provides extensive listings of international organizations, universities and

colleges, museums, learned societies, and libraries, usually with full lists of senior staff or faculty members of each institution. The book deals with some 150 countries and ranges as wide as Vatican City, the new African countries, and British territories overseas. The same company publishes *Europe Yearbook* and some other handbooks.

Needless to say, the universities can also be well studied from national and individual sources. Most institutions of higher learning publish comprehensive catalogues describing their activities and offerings. In some non-English-speaking countries, such as Japan or Taiwan, the catalogues are also obtainable in English. There are also national compendia on the universities and various higher schools. Examples are the *Handbook of the Universities* (India: Inter-University Board, 1958) and *Education in Universities in India 1956-57, A Statistical Survey* (India: Ministry of Education, 1959). National compendia on universities are sometimes even published by foreign countries. Thus the United States Office of Education has published a booklet compiled by E. Kahler, *Higher Education in France* (Bulletin no. 6, 1952) listing all French universities and *grandes écoles*. Prominent members of university faculties are also included in national biographical sources. Some sort of *Who's Who* is available in many countries, for example, in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. To take the United States as example, biographies of a large number of faculty members can be found in *Who's Who in America*, *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Current Biography*, *Who's Who in the East*, *Dictionary of American Scholars*, *American Men of Science*, *Who's Who in American Education*, *American Medical Directory*, and many other sources. Of interest may also be Walter Crosby Eels' *American Dissertations on Foreign Education* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1959). Comparative sources can be readily located in the standard sources of reference such as the *Cumulative Book Index*, *International Index of Periodicals*, *Education Index*, and others. A standard reference room in a good-sized library will usually supply all the needed information. If it does not, it is well to remember the rather obvious but often ignored channels of research; a telephone call or an air mail letter will put the student directly in touch with the source of the required information.

TEXTBOOKS¹⁰

Professors using textbooks in comparative education are probably divided into two classes, those who like a comprehensive and systematic

treatment and like to arrange their courses to dovetail with such a treatment, and those who consider textbooks as supplementary reading and are more interested in particular presentations than in comprehensiveness. The textbooks listed below are arranged in a chronological fashion. No attempt has been made to give a personal estimate of their value. The writer confines himself at the end of this section to indicating which books, in his opinion, are suitable as course textbooks. For the rest, the content and methods used are presented for the sake of general coverage. The majority of the books quoted are in the English language. From books in other languages only titles by Schneider, Rosselló, Hilker, and Hylla and Wrinkle are included as representative of foreign work in the field.

I. L. Kandel's *Comparative Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933, 922 pp.) begins the list. Before the publication of this book there were, of course, other volumes available as texts. In 1918 Peter Sandiford edited a symposium entitled *Comparative Education* (New York: Dutton, reprinted 1927, 1929), which contains articles on six countries, including one on the United States by William F. Russell, Germany by I. L. Kandel, and England and Canada by Sandiford himself. In 1923 Frederick W. Roman published *The New Education in Europe* (New York: Dutton, reprinted 1930), which deals with ten European countries and includes not only the discussion of the socioeconomic milieu in which schools were enmeshed but also an analysis of medical education, sex education, and school organization in four countries.¹¹ In 1927 Paul Monroe collected his many articles in two volumes of *Essays in Comparative Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University), which covers topics ranging as widely as education in the Philippines and China, schools in the Arab countries, to mission education and problems of foreign students in American universities. In 1930, also under the title *Essays in Comparative Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University) I. L. Kandel published his collected articles and lectures dealing with education in some ten countries and concentrating on such topics as nationalism, administration of schools, and selectivity. Meanwhile in England Nicholas Hans published *Principles of Educational Policy: A Study in Comparative Education* in 1927, and in the same year Sergius Hessen in Poland wrote *Democratic School and the School Systems* in Polish (now available also in Italian as *Scuola Democratica e Sistemi Scolastici*, Rome: Armando, 1954, 358 pp.).

Kandel's *Comparative Education* was a classic that contributed much to the establishment of comparative education as a discipline between

the world wars. The book is noteworthy for the spirit of humanism in which it was written, its literary style, and the facility with which it describes schools as part of the total politics of society. The book is enhanced by its schematic arrangement of basic categories, for example, state and education, organization, administration, elementary and secondary schools, elementary and secondary teacher training. The subject matter from the countries discussed (England, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and the United States) was then rotated to fit these categories. Thus the book is a direct application of the Sadlerian approach to education. It is a landmark in the distinguished career of the professor emeritus of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and emeritus professor of American studies at the University of Manchester. The book, now out of print in English, has been translated into Chinese.

I. L. Kandel's *The New Era in Education, A Comparative Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955, 388 pp.) is a shortened, revised, and updated edition of *Comparative Education*. It deals with England, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union in new analytical categories such as the role of the state, cultural forces, educational reconstruction, equality of opportunity, and in descriptive categories such as administration, education of the child, the adolescent, and the teacher. The book is suited for more advanced work. It has been published in Portuguese in Brazil and also in Japanese.

A. E. Meyer's *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century* was first published in 1939 (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall). The second edition (published in 1949, 609 pp.) is itself no longer up-to-date. This book is now, however, of interest for selective reading of descriptive accounts of England, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and the United States. It also contains a useful review of the history of educational thought from Rousseau to Kilpatrick and from Bertrand Russell to Maria Montessori. The last part deals (though not always comparatively) with several issues, for example, science, psychology, the gifted child, the college, adult education, workers' education, and international education. Dr. Meyer is a professor emeritus of New York University.

In 1941 Henry Lester Smith published his *Comparative Education* (Bloomington, Ind.: Educational Publications, 529 pp.). The book is a descriptive study of education in England, France, Germany, Italy, the USSR, China, Japan, and the United States. Each chapter begins by discussing the history, political institutions, geography, population, and economic conditions of the country and goes on to present the outlines of educational organization, functioning, and administration. Written at the beginning of World War II, the book has now only an historic interest.

Friedrich Schneider's *Triebkräfte der Pädagogik der Völker* (Salzburg: Otto Muller Verlag, 1947, 504 pp.) is the German classic in comparative education. It is more global in treatment than Dr. Schneider's recent comparative books, *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft*,¹² mentioned below, and *Europäische Erziehung* (Europa et Schola, 1959, 256 pp.), which is specifically directed to the idea of European unification. The *Triebkräfte* bears the subtitle "An Introduction to the Discipline of Comparative Education" and presents an outline of the philosophy of comparative education. There is no separate treatment of individual countries. Chapter headings include "Pedagogy and National Character," "Culture and Pedagogy," "Science and Pedagogy," "Politics and Pedagogy," "Religion and Pedagogy," "History and Pedagogy." Facts and details of educational progress and histories of countries such as Germany, France, England, and the United States are completely integrated as illustrations into the speculative over-all analysis. The whole discussion in the book leads one to one of the final chapters, *Das Ausland als gestaltender Faktor*, in which Dr. Schneider recognizes the geographical dimensions as a permanent formative aspect of all pedagogical developments.

In 1961 Dr. Schneider published a second textbook in comparative education, *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer). This is the first volume in a series on *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft und Pädagogik des Auslands*. The book presents an overview of the current status of the field, with chapters devoted to the history, content, research, and teaching of comparative education. The last chapter restates and refines the theme of the *Triebkräfte* by discussing the relation of national character, geography, economy, culture, religion, science, and society to pedagogy, as well as foreign influence upon pedagogical development.

As mentioned before, *Weltweite Erziehung; Festgabe für Friedrich Schneider* (Herder, 1961) was edited by Wolfgang Brezinka and contains comparative articles by Nicholas Hans, Joseph Lauwerys, Gottfried Hausmann, George Z. F. Bereday, and others.

Comparative Education by Nicholas Hans (London: Routledge, 334 pp.) is another classic in the field. The book was first published in 1949 and is now in its third (1958) edition. This standard English text by a Reader in comparative education at King's College, University of London, long eminent in the field and now retired, bears a subtitle *A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions*. The first three parts deal with problems such as race, language, and religion (four chapters) and geographic, economic, intellectual, social, and political factors. This section is partly historical, partly analytical, and partly descriptive. The

fourth part consists of a description of the educational systems of England, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union. The book has been translated into Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish, the latter edition with a chapter on Latin America.¹³ It is an example of the problem approach in comparative education. The *Principles of Educational Policy* by Dr. Hans has already been mentioned.

Comparative Education, by A. H. Moehlman and Joseph S. Roucek (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951, 630 pp.) is a symposium of articles by several authors under the editorship of professors from the University of Texas and Bridgeport University. It contains the accounts of 17 countries and areas, including the United States, Latin America, Mexico, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, Africa, Turkey, India, China, and Japan.

The symposium *Die Schulen in West Europa* (Bad Nauheim: Im Christian Verlag, 1953, 663 pp.), edited by Erich Hylla and W. L. Wrinkle, is a classic model of descriptive work in comparative education. The treatment is confined to ten countries of western Europe (Norway, Sweden, Italy, England, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, France, and Denmark), each of which is presented by a native-born authority. Its chief merit consists of a systematic scheme of classification by which the information in each country is arranged. A diagrammatic table of contents in the front of the book gives equivalent sections on each country for specific categories of information. There are 66 such categories and they range from land and people, aims of education, foreign influences, and school organization to co-education, unemployed youth, free group activities, international understanding, school books, and school reforms. The book ends with a comparative article addressing itself to Europe as a whole.

P. T. Orata's, *Educational Trends Abroad* (Manila: University Publishing Company, 1954, 504 pp.) is a Filipino text by a UNESCO programme specialist. Written in a somewhat personalized style, it deals with problems rather than with countries and spans India, Mexico, Hungary, Greece, Burma, Turkey, Denmark, and Thailand, as well as England, France, and other European countries. The chapter headings include "Fundamental and Adult Education Reform," "Teaching the School Subjects," "Technical and Vocational Education," "The College," "The Teachers," "Education of Women," "Audiovisual Aids," and "Training of Character." The book is listed here as one example of the many East Asian studies in comparative education.

Education and Society, edited by John Sargent (London: Batch-

worth Press, 1955) is an English symposium of articles. It bears the subtitle *Some Studies of Education Systems in Europe and America*. The authors of the five chapters include authorities such as I. L. Kandel and W. O. Lester Smith. The countries treated are the United States, Britain, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian states. The consecutive area studies are not linked by comparative analysis but represent an extensive descriptive and sociopolitical treatment.

J. F. Cramer and G. S. Browne's, *Contemporary Education* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956, 637 pp.) bears the subtitle *A Comparative Study of National Systems*. The book was written by a professor at Portland State College and the dean of the School of Education at the University of Melbourne. It discusses several countries, notably the United States, England, France, Australia, Canada, the Soviet Union, Germany, and Japan. Its strongest part deals descriptively with educational administration classified under eight headings of local responsibility (the United States), divided responsibility (England and Wales), national responsibility (France), state responsibility (Australia), sectarian control (some Canadian provinces), and party control (the USSR). Other parts deal with the operation of school systems and postwar features of education such as the rehabilitation of Fascist systems, education in the new countries of Asia, adult education, and UNESCO. The book is suitable as an introductory text.

An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education, 2d ed., by Vernon Mallinson (London: Macmillan, 1960) was prepared by a Reader in education at the University of Reading in England, a distinguished authority on Belgian education.¹⁴ The book deals with analytical factors rather than areas. Its coverage includes the United States, the USSR, and the countries of Europe. It excludes Britain but includes Belgium, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and Italy. Issues such as compulsory education, education as a reflection of national character, and professional training of teachers are considered. Material on specific countries is subdivided into chapters under such categories. The book carries seven diagrams on the outlines of the school systems discussed. Mr. Mallinson is also the editor of *The Adolescent at School* (London: New Education Book Club, 1949), which deals by area with France, India, the United States, Italy, and England, and which concludes with an analysis of the Dalton Plan and of the new programs in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Germany.

Edmund King's *Other Schools and Ours*, Revised Edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963) is an English text by the Reader

in comparative education at King's College, University of London.¹⁵ The book is composed of six area studies, on the United States, the USSR, England, France, India, and Denmark, and is geared to beginner students in comparative education. It discusses education in a full social context and treats each country in terms of the particular problems it faces. The study of Denmark presents a case of a small country forced to do the most with its resources. The study of India treats the problems of an underdeveloped country. The United States is presented as a nation on wheels and Great Britain as one wrestling with educational reforms. The Soviet Union is analyzed in terms of its Communist aims and France is examined as a stronghold of intellectualism.

Another book by Dr. King is *World Perspectives in Education* (London: Methuen, 1961; New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962). This book complements *Other Schools and Ours* and addresses itself to a discussion of several current educational issues from the vantage point of international perspective. Problems singled out for attention include selection policies, finance, culture conflicts, impact of technology, recruitment of teachers, ideologies and control of education, and others. The book also pays attention to problems of methodology in comparative education.

Anthony J. Kerr's, *Schools of Europe* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1960), presents a purely descriptive compendium of some 30 European school systems.¹⁶ Topics such as teacher education, residential schools, and treatment of national minorities receive special attention; there is a review of statistical information and contemplated reforms in several countries for pragmatic purposes, in this case the improvement of British education, more extensive exchange of teachers, and a proposal to create a European Council on Education to coordinate the efforts of the various school systems. A follow-up volume by Mr. Kerr is *Universities of Europe* (Westminster, Md.: Canterbury Press, 1962). In the same year his *Schools of Scotland* (Glasgow: William McLellan) was published.

Education in the Perspective of History by Edward D. Myers (New York: Harper & Row, 1960) is not a comparative education textbook in the conventional sense. The book is rather an appendix to Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* and presents the history and development of education in some 15 civilizations. Since this treatment is compressed into the space of 300 pages, the book is of panoramic value. Of special interest is Part Three, which includes a chapter devoted to comparisons among civilizations and another chapter containing conclusions written by Toynbee himself.

La teoría de las corrientes educativas by Pedro Rosselló (Rio de Janeiro: UNESCO, 1960, 81 pp.) is not properly a textbook but a

theoretical treatise attempting to bring together the many strands of the theory of comparative education.¹⁷ Dr. Rosselló classifies the existing methods of comparative study and compares the educational trends in various countries in terms of that classification. School reforms, state influence in education, mass education, costs of educational services, and the coming breakup of secondary education into the middle and the senior stage are the problems discussed. The book is a standard treatment of the dynamic approach to education, that is, the concern with future trends as they can be predicted from present and past developments. The treatment represents also the global approach—an attempt to discern over-all similarities and universal laws by which all systems of education, in spite of their differences, are moved. Hence no individual school system is treated at length; the analysis is entirely comparative.

Robert Ulich's *Education of Nations: A Comparison in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961, 325 pp.) is explained by its subtitle. This text by the emeritus James Bryant Conant Professor of Education at Harvard University and a distinguished authority in philosophy, history, and comparative education combines the comparative and the historical approach. Western heritage is treated as a whole in the early chapters, which deal with the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the age of reason, and the age of technology. This section is followed by area studies of England, France, Germany, the United States, and the USSR, which are treated as extensions of the central heritage. The book concludes with a short chapter on the new nations of Asia and Africa. Its principal value is not only in the application of one definite social discipline to comparative evidence but also in the spirit of humanism which permeates it. As mentioned previously, a volume of essays in honor of Dr. Ulich, *Liberal Traditions in Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education), edited by George Z. F. Bereday, was published in 1958.

One of the most recent books is Franz Hilker's *Vergleichende Pädagogik: Eine Einführung in ihre Geschichte, Theorie und Praxis* (Munich: Huebner, 1962). Dr. Hilker's work, like Dr. Schneider's latest book, addresses itself to a general overview of the field of comparative education. After a short chapter on history, major parts of the book are devoted to techniques of collecting comparative materials, techniques of academic study of the field, and theoretical divisions of the field and practical applications in it. Except for the last part, which places the book within the historical period of "prediction," Hilker's work follows the theoretical divisions advocated by this writer in Chapter 2 and published previously

in a special issue of *Bildung und Erziehung* (Vol. XVI, 1961, pp. 226-243) in honor of Dr. Hilker.

Other available textbooks and books on theory include:

- Espe, Hans, *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft*. Berlin: Orbis, 1956, 143 pp.
- Idenburg, P. J., *Inleiding tot de Vergelijkende Opvoedkunde*. Gronigen, Holland: J. B. Walters, 1959, 52 pp.
- Luzuriaga, Lorenzo, *La Educación Nueva*, 4th ed. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1952, 192 pp.
- Motylev, V. V., et al., *Sistema obrazovaniia v nekotorykh kapitalisticheskikh stranakh*. Moscow: Vsesoiuznyi Institut Nauchnoi Tekhnicheskoi Informatsii, 1960, 184 pp.
- Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationalists*. Allahabad, India: Kitab Mahal, 1959, 280 pp.
- Querino, José, *Pequena introdução ao estudo da educação comparada*. São Paulo, Brazil: University of São Paulo, Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters, 1958, 61 pp.
- Sjöstredt, C. E., and W. Sjöstrand, *Skola och Undervisning i Sverige och Andra Länder*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1959, 366 pp.
- Veikshan, V. A., *Shkola v SShA, Anglii i Frantsii*. Moscow: Znanie, 1960, 48 pp.

This discussion has revealed that although the number of textbooks in comparative education is not exorbitant, the subject matter is sufficiently diverse to cover the major areas of interest in comparative education. Classification here must remain tentative, but as mentioned, the Hylla and Wrinkle volume is an example of descriptive work; Dr. King's earlier book deals fully with the area approach; Dr. Hans's work is devoted largely to the problem approach. Cramer and Browne and Mallinson combine these approaches, the former with more emphasis on areas, the latter with more attention to themes. Dr. Ulich concentrates on applying one social discipline to comparative evidence; Dr. Schneider applies several. Finally, Dr. Kandel's books present total socioeducational analysis, balanced for both facts and analytical deductions. These textbooks are suitable as basic readings in courses devoted to one of these particular approaches. Other textbooks listed are useful as supplementary readings. All are characterized by coverage in *breadth*. They must be supplemented by readings in *depth* on specific educational problems or specific countries in which the students are particularly interested. Such studies in depth can be aided by standard yearbooks and periodicals in the field.

YEARBOOKS¹⁸

Whereas the organization and level of scholarship of some of the textbooks has led many professors of comparative education to look upon

them as a mixed blessing, the yearbooks concerned with comparative education have been acknowledged with greater enthusiasm. Their general execution seems to be of a higher order. Their periodical nature renders the information they offer much more up-to-date. In several cases they supply data about little accessible areas. Sometimes they elaborate important problems otherwise neglected. Nearly always they provide, in the English language, views of governments and foreign educators which might not otherwise be so readily available. Yearbooks are reference sources for quick consultation, as well as books for more leisurely reading. They are a useful and continuous basis of much comparative research and teaching. It is hoped that a brief chronological enumeration of their antecedents and scope will bring them into wider use. It will also help to clear up difficulties resulting from the fact that most of them bear similar titles.

The oldest of these publications, *The Educational Yearbook*, no longer appears. It consists of 21 volumes published between 1924 and 1944 by the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, under the editorship of I. L. Kandel. This yearbook continues to be a useful source of historical information for the period it covers. Some volumes also contain materials and treatments that are not as yet outdated. The 1932 volume, for example, contains much still-relevant material on the relations between church and state in education. Interspersed between volumes that are descriptive in nature are others dealing with selected problems such as rural education (1938), adult education (1940), or higher education (1943). The 1942 volume, still of great value, is an intensive study of the Latin American area. The 1941 volume, *End of an Era*, written entirely as a book by I. L. Kandel, is a provocative overview of educational developments between world wars.

The table below lists the coverage by countries and topics of the materials to be found in the *Educational Yearbook* during the 20 years of its existence:

Articles in Educational Yearbook 1924-1944

<i>Year</i>	<i>Countries Treated</i>	<i>Problems Treated</i>
1924	Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, South Africa, USA	Educational developments Teaching methods New education movement

<i>Year</i>	<i>Countries Treated</i>	<i>Problems Treated</i>
1925	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Dutch East Indies, England, France, Germany, Holland, India, Japan, Latvia, New Zealand, Scotland, USA., Uruguay	Educational developments Elementary school curriculum
1926	Austria, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Irish Free State, Northern Ireland, Newfoundland, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, USA	Educational developments Problems of secondary education
1927	Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Iraq, Lithuania, Mexico, Russia, Spain, Turkey, USA	Educational developments Teacher training
1928	England, France, Germany, Palestine, USA	Educational developments Vocational education
1929	England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, USA	Philosophy underlying national systems of education
1930	Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, USA	Expansion of secondary education
1931	Algeria, Belgian Congo, Formosa, France, German colonies, Italian colonies, Lebanon, Malaya, Morocco, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia	Education in colonial dependencies Education of indigenous people British colonial office International educational relations in France

<i>Year</i>	<i>Countries Treated</i>	<i>Problems Treated</i>
1932	Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Holland, India, Italy, Japan, Latin America, Mexico, Norway, Scotland, South Africa, Sweden, USA	State and religious education
1933	Africa, China, India, Japan, Korea, Latin America, Near East	American missions
1934	France, Germany, Russia	Democracy in schools Communism in schools National socialism in schools
1935	Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England and Wales, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Scotland, South Africa, Sweden, USA	Teachers' associations
1936	Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Germany, Holland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Scotland, Spain, South Africa, Sweden, USA	Educational developments
1937	Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Dutch East Indies, Egypt, Finland, Greece, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Irish Free State, Northern Ireland, Italy, Palestine, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland, Turkey, USSR, Uruguay	Educational developments
1938	Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, Germany, India, Mexico, Norway, USA	Rural education

<i>Year</i>	<i>Countries Treated</i>	<i>Problems Treated</i>
1939	Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Holland, India, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Scotland, South Africa, Sweden, USA	Liberal education
1940	Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, England, France, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, USA	Adult education
1941	England, France, Germany, Italy, USSR, USA	<i>End of An Era</i> : Education between world wars
1942	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Santo Domingo, Uruguay, Venezuela	Latin America
1943	Australia, Canada, England, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Scotland, South Africa, USA	Higher education
1944	Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Greece, Italy, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Scotland, South Africa, USA	Postwar educational reconstruction

Next in order of seniority is the British-American publication, the *Year Book of Education*, which was founded in 1932 by Sir Robert Evans and has continued, except for the years 1941-1947, to the present time. This year book is published in London by Evans Brothers, in later years

under the sponsorship of the Institute of Education, University of London. Under its first editor Lord Eustace Percy and under other editorial boards, most recently Nicholas Hans and Joseph Lauwerys, this publication attained a considerable market in Britain and other areas of the world. Since 1953 the *Year Book* has been a transatlantic venture and is now published in the United States by Harcourt, Brace & World under the joint sponsorship of the Institute of Education, University of London, and Teachers College, Columbia University. Its editors, joined by Robert King Hall on behalf of the American board from 1953 to 1956, have pioneered in the problem approach to comparative education. In 1953 the *Year Book* dealt with the status and position of teachers; in 1954 with education and technological development, in 1955 with guidance and counseling, in 1956 with education and economics. The 1957 volume began the editorial collaboration of Joseph A. Lauwerys and George Z. F. Bereday. Since then the *Year Book* titles have been as follows:

- 1957 *Philosophy and Education*
- 1958 *The Secondary School Curriculum*
- 1959 *Higher Education*
- 1960 *Communication Media and the School*
- 1961 *Concepts of Excellence in Education*
- 1962 *The Gifted Child*
- 1963 *Education and Training of Teachers*
- 1964 *Education and International Life*

The table below gives the coverage by countries of the articles contained in the *Year Book* between 1957 and 1963.

Articles in the Year Book of Education 1957-1963

Year	Articles on		Countries Treated
	Articles Not on Specific Countries	Articles on More Than One Country	
1957	13	8	Australia, Canada, China, England, France, Holland, India, Scotland, South Africa, Switzerland, USA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Articles on</i>		<i>Countries Treated</i>
	<i>Articles Not on Specific Countries</i>	<i>More Than One Country</i>	
1958	3	3	Australia, Canada, Ceylon, China, England, Ethiopia, France, Germany, Ghana, Holland, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Philippines, South Africa, USA, Yugoslavia
1959	—	3	Australia, Austria, Argentina, Brazil, Denmark, East Africa, England, France, India, Italy, Lebanon, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, USA, Yugoslavia
1960	10	3	Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, East Africa, England, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Poland, Sweden, USA, USSR
1961	11	2	Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Egypt, England, France, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Switzerland, USA, USSR, Yugoslavia
1962	16	3	Belgium, Canada, England, France, Holland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain, Sweden, USA, USSR, Venezuela, West Germany
1963	14	3	Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, England, Finland, France, Holland, India, Jamaica, Latin America, Lebanon, New Zealand, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, USA, USSR, West Germany

The *International Yearbook of Education* has been published since 1933, except for the years 1940–1945, by the International Bureau of Education in Geneva and is distributed in the United States by Columbia University Press and by the United Nations Publication Center. It contains short accounts of yearly educational progress supplied by the governments concerned, and for the most part presented to the International Conference on Education that convenes in Geneva each year. This yearbook, now published in French and English, is thus a ready and up-to-date reference source. Its scope, too, is steadily expanding. In 1946 it carried reports on 28 countries; in 1949, on 44, in 1956, on 72. Of special interest are the reports on Iron Curtain countries, which have made their appearance in the *Yearbook* one by one, and which culminated in the inclusion of an article on the USSR in 1954 and in subsequent volumes. Since 1948 the *Yearbook* has been preceded by a general comparative survey of educational progress throughout the world written by Pedro Rosselló. The 1960 *Yearbook* contains a comparative study of educational developments for 1959–1960, dealing with administration; free compulsory education; quantitative developments; primary, secondary, vocational, and higher education; and the teaching staff (pp. 7–52). This volume contains reports on educational progress in 1958–1959 from the following 77 countries:

Afghanistan	France	Monaco
Albania	German Federal Republic	Morocco
Argentina	Ghana	Netherlands
Australia	Guatemala	New Zealand
Austria	Honduras	Norway
Belgium	Hungary	Pakistan
Brazil	Iceland	Panama
Bulgaria	India	Peru
Byelorussia	Iran	Philippines
Cambodia	Iraq	Poland
Canada	Ireland	Portugal
Ceylon	Israel	Rumania
China (Republic of)	Italy	Saudi Arabia
Colombia	Japan	Sierra Leone
Costa Rica	Korea (Republic of)	Singapore
Cuba	Kuwait	Spain
Czechoslovakia	Laos	Sudan
Denmark	Lebanon	Sweden
Dominican Republic	Liberia	Switzerland
Ecuador	Libya	Thailand
El Salvador	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Ethiopia	Malaya	Ukraine
Finland	Mexico	Union of Burma

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	United Kingdom	Vietnam
United Arab Republic	United States	West Indies
	Venezuela	Yugoslavia

The 1961 and 1962 volumes of the *International Yearbook* contain the usual comparative articles and give reports on 86 and 87 countries respectively.

This completes the list of yearbooks concerned entirely with comparative education. Mention should be made, however, of other yearbooks that occasionally devote a volume to international education, if not to its comparative aspects. The Thirty-sixth Yearbook, Part II, of the National Society for the Study of Education (1937), edited by I. L. Kandel and G. M. Whipple, is entitled *International Understanding through the Public School Curriculum*. Since this yearbook deals not with countries but with a consecutive analysis of various school subjects as they should be taught to foster international understanding, its message and contents are not altogether out of date. The 1959 issue of this yearbook, (the fifty-eighth), edited by Nelson B. Henry, deals with the established programs and current problems of community development education. A special international issue appeared as the Eleventh Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, edited by C. O. Arndt and S. Everett (New York: Harper & Row, 1951). This issue of the Yearbook bears the title of *Education for a World Society*, and again discusses not areas but institutional factors such as world religions, trade, science, world communications, and the role of schools and international organizations in fostering international understanding.

THE PERIODICALS

Periodicals of interest to comparative educators fall into two categories: specialized periodicals devoted either entirely or, if partly, persistently, to the coverage of international data; and general periodicals that carry frequently but irregularly articles on foreign educational systems. Only the former category can be mentioned here, and only the most representative examples are cited.

The International Review of Education is the oldest among the periodicals devoted to comparative and international education. Founded by Friedrich Schneider in 1930, it was revived after the war and entrusted to the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg. It is now edited by Professor Gottfried Hausmann of the University of Hamburg, with the assistance of the international editorial board. The *Review* carries articles in four languages, each with accompanying summaries in the

other three. The offerings range from general philosophical articles to articles on theory of comparative education and to area studies. Reports of international conferences, news and notes from the field, and book review are part of the standard contents. In addition, each issue of the *Review* carries short articles, three or four pages in length, giving up-to-date information on educational events in different countries. The table below gives by countries and special subjects the major articles that appeared in the *Review* between 1955 and 1962.

Major Articles in International Review of Education, 1955-1962

<i>Year and Number</i>	<i>Articles Not in Comparative or International Education</i>	<i>Articles in Comparative and Interna- tional Education in General</i>	<i>Articles on Separate Countries</i>
1955/1	2	1	England, France, India
1955/2	3	2	England, Italy
1955/3	4	—	England, Japan, USA
1955/4	5	1	Germany, USA
1956/1	2	2	Austria, Germany
1956/2	3	1	Ceylon, Philippines, South Africa
1956/3	7	—	Finland
1956/4	2	—	Australia, England, France, New Zealand, Switzerland
1957/1	3	3	Holland, Switzerland
1957/2	7	—	Australia, Belgium, West Germany
1957/3	2	—	France, Sweden, Switzerland, USA, USSR
1957/4	4	1	Greece, France, Yugoslavia
1958/1	2	2	France, Poland
1958/2	5	1	Australia, England
1958/3	3	—	Germany, Italy, USA

Year and Number	Articles Not in Comparative or International Education	Articles in Comparative and Interna- tional Education in General	Articles on Separate Countries
1958/4	1	1	Egypt, Israel, Somaliland, Uganda
1959/1	1	1	Belgium, Burma, Morocco, USSR
1959/2	3	1	South Africa, USA
1959/3	—	9	—
1959/4	3	2	—
1960/1	1	4	Norway
1960/2	1	—	Ecuador, England, France, Scotland, USA
1960/3	3	—	Sudan, USA
1960/4	1	3	USA, USSR
1961/1	1	2	Israel
1961/2	7	1	Belgium
1961/3	3	2	—
1961/4	1	1	India, USA, West Germany, Yugoslavia
1962/1	2	1	Canada, Jamaica, Portugal

Comparative Education Review is the official organ of the Comparative Education Society of America and is edited by this writer. The journal was founded in 1957 and is steadily expanding in size and circulation. The journal publishes articles dealing with theory and methods of comparative education, comparative studies, area studies, and bibliographical notices. Since 1951 the journal has also carried a book review section, and since 1963, book notes, film notes, and a column on recent events in world education compiled by Dr. Franklin Parker of the University of Texas. The *Review* makes a special attempt to reserve a portion of its space for young writers in the field. The table below lists the distribution of articles in the *Review* by countries and special subjects.

Distribution of Articles in Comparative Education Review
1957-1962

Year	Vol.	No.	Comparative Theory	Comparative Articles	Bibliographical Articles and Book Reviews	Western Europe	The Americas	USSR and Soviet Bloc	Asia	Middle East and Africa
1957	1.	1.	2	—	1	1 Italy	—	1	—	—
		2.	2	—	1	—	1 Latin America	1	1 China	—
		3.	1	1	1	1 Italy 1 France	1 Guatemala	—	1 China 1 Indonesia	1 General
1958	2.	1.	4	2	—	1 England 1 Germany	—	2	—	1 Israel
		2.	2	1	—	1 Switzerland	—	1	1 Indonesia	1 South Africa
		3.	—	3	1	1 France	—	2	1 Korea	1 Ethiopia
1959	3.	1.	2	—	1	1 England 1 France 1 Germany	—	1	1 China	—
		2.	—	—	3	2 England 1 Holland	—	1	—	1 So. Rhodesia
		3.	2	1	—	1 England 1 Germany 1 Greece	—	1	—	1 Iran
1960	4.	1.	1	3	1	1 England 2 Italy 2 Germany 1 Belgium	1 USA 1 Brazil	—	1 General 1 Japan	—
		2.	3	1	1	1 Sweden	1 USA 1 Brazil 1 Canada	1	1 Ceylon 1 Japan	1 General 1 Uganda
		3.	2	2	1	—	—	2	2 China 1 Mongolia 1 Cambodia	—
1961	5.	1.	1	6	3	—	1 Latin America	1	1 Australia 1 New Zealand	1 General 1 Sudan 1 South Africa
		2.	3	1	5	1 Finland	1 Canada	—	1 Philippines	1 South Africa
		3.	4	2	3	1 England 1 Italy 1 Scotland	1 Latin America	1	—	—
1962	6.	1.	—	3	2	1 Spain 2 West Germany 1 East Germany	1 Canada	—	—	1 South Africa 1 Tanganyika
		2.	2	3	—	1 England	1 Canada 1 USA	—	—	1 Iran 1 Ghana 1 Pakistan
		3.	3	1	3	1 England 1 East Germany	1 Latin America	1	1 Australia 1 India 1 Japan	—

The *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education* from Geneva is a monthly edition of materials that eventually appear in the *International Yearbook of Education*. The *Bulletin* is composed of two parts, news on educational events in the participating countries, and a bibliography of new sources. The bibliographies contained in this journal also form subsequently part of annual bibliographies published separately by the International Bureau of Education. The *Bulletin* for the first quarter of 1961, which may be cited as an example, contains short reports on the following countries:

Albania	Czechoslovakia	Pakistan
Argentina	France	Peru
Australia	Israel	Spain
Austria	Italy	Sweden
Belgium	Japan	Switzerland
Brazil	Mexico	USSR
Canada	Morocco	United Arab Republic
Ceylon	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Chile	New Zealand	USA
Colombia	Nigeria	Yugoslavia
Cuba	Norway	

Overseas: The Magazine of Educational Exchange is the new name of the *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, published in New York. This publication contains shorter articles on various facets of international and comparative education. The magazine, now in a format likening it to UNESCO and other international publications, is distinguished by skillful use of photographs and carries short book reviews and news notes. The contents of the first two issues of the new series, which follow, are representative of the offerings of the *News Bulletin* as it has appeared for 36 years.

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Kenneth Holland
John F. Kennedy
Dean Rusk

Henry Cabot Lodge
Albert G. Sims

André Maurois
James M. Davis

Steven Trefonides
Pamela Hansford Johnson

"Introducing *Overseas*"

"Welcome"

"Education: Key to National Development"

"Africa in a Hurry"

"Wanted: A Certain Quality of Free Enterprise"

"A Frenchman Appraises U. S. Schools"

"Fifty Thousand Foreign Students to Advise"

"Images of India"

"Travel Awards and the Writer"

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F. Cyril James

Martha Lucas

Ujjwala Salve

"Universities around the World"

"100 Visits"

"A Spotless Heart and Two Soiled Hands"

Special Section: "Universities around the World"

Sebastiano Mazzaracchio

Risieri Frondisi

Swarna Jayaweera

Barbara A. Yates

Picture Story

Stephen K. Bailey

Jeanette H. Eilenberg

James A. Matheson

"Alma Mater Studiorum"

"To Seek a Democratic Balance"

"Campus at Kandy"

"A Precious Legacy"

"Modern University Architecture"

"Classrooms for World Citizens"

"Evolution from the Oxcart"

"One of the World's Newest Universities"

Salih J. Al-Toma

"Bagdad's Independent University"

Oversea Education: A journal of educational experiment and research in tropical and subtropical areas is an organ of the Colonial Office in London and is published four times a year. This journal should not be confused with *Oversea Quarterly*, a periodical of the department of education in tropical areas, University of London Institute of Education, nor with *Overseas*, the bulletin of the Institute of International Education in New York, mentioned previously. *Oversea Education*, as its subtitle implies, deals mainly (though not exclusively) with problems of education in underdeveloped countries. As such the journal has affinities with the *Tiers Monde*, published at the University of Paris. It is also close in interests to *Teacher Education*, a new journal published at the Institute of Education, University of London, and devoted to African teacher training. *Oversea Education* may be singled out as an example of this group of journals. Sample articles for the years 1958-1961 are the following:

R. E. Crookall, "Universal Education in Western Nigeria" (Apr. 1958, Vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 3-11)

Nicholas Gillet, "Rural Improvement in Thailand" (July 1958, Vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 69-72)

D. R. Howell, "The Status of Teachers in Nigeria" (Oct. 1958, Vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 102-109)

Bernard Mellor, "American Degrees and British Students" (Jan. 1959, Vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 147-159)

Marion E. Darke, "The Education of Girls and Women in British Somaliland" (Jan. 1959, Vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 160-163)

- John D. Lewis, "American Degrees and British Students" (Oct. 1960, Vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 97-102)
- K. D. Luke, "The Interpretation of Qualifications Submitted by Students of British Dependent Territories for Entry into Institutions of Higher Education in North America" (April 1961, Vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 28-36)
- John H. Alman, "Arts and Crafts in North Borneo" (July 1961, Vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 62-68)
- G. W. Sneesby, "The Vernacular in Bantu Education in the Union of South Africa" (July 1961, Vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 75-82)

The *Bulletin of the International Association of Universities* has appeared since 1950 in Paris under the auspices of the international organization of the universities named above. The publication contains short reports in French and English on universities and university affairs all over the world. The *Bulletin* is a quarterly and carries photographs and book reviews. The contents are divided into two parts, a short section on the activities of the association, and a longer section entitled "International University Chronicle." The following few entries from Vol. IX, 1961, no. 1, are representative of the latter section:

- "Un nouveau projet de réforme universitaire en Italie"
- "Needs of Higher Education in Nigeria"
- "Medical Schools for Rhodesia"
- "Les universités des républiques soviétiques de l'Asie Centrale"
- "Une université nouvelle à Asunción"
- "Canadian University Statistics"
- "Finnish Scholarship Fund for Foreign Students"
- "East-West Cultural Center, Hawaii"
- "Réforme de l'enseignement supérieur en Grèce"

The *Times Educational Supplement* in London, the respected classic in the field of British education and the only weekly educational journal of international stature (The *Soviet Teachers Gazette* is published three times a week), devotes a page or more in each issue to articles on educational problems abroad. The relevant columns are called "News from Abroad" and "The World." In addition, the *Supplement* reviews books and carries editorials and short notes on foreign education when these are appropriate. Examples of articles taken at random from journals in the third quarter of 1961 are listed below:

- "Australian Halls of Residence" (July 7, 1961, no. 2407, p. 8)
- "Youth Work in West Berlin" (Aug. 4, 1961, no. 2411, p. 76)
- "American College Fraternities" (Aug. 11, 1961, no. 2413, p. 160)

- "India's Third Five Year Plan; More for Education" (Sept. 1, 1961, no. 2415, p. 224)
 "Halls of Residence; German Plans and Problems" (Sept. 15, 1961, no. 2417, p. 289)
 "English Studies in Afro-Asia" (Sept. 22, 1961, no. 2418, p. 329)

The section on foreign education is often one page in length and sometimes more. Articles are written both in a scholarly analytical style and as personal reminiscences or descriptions by people in service or returning from service abroad.

The *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, until 1961 called *Fundamental and Adult Education*, is published by UNESCO and specializes, as its former title partly implies, in the underdeveloped countries. The concerns of the quarterly are with curricula and with methods of aiding less developed educational systems to modernize themselves. Often the publication features articles on more advanced countries. Examples are I. M. Bogdanov, "Methods Employed in Teaching Arithmetic to Adults in USSR (1917-1940)" (1960, Vol. XII, no. 1) and Olof Norell, "Art Education for Adults in Sweden," (1959, Vol. XI, no. 4). The more usual articles deal with topics or countries of the southern hemisphere. The following are examples from issues picked at random:

Vol. X, 1958, no. 1

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| W. F. Jeffries | "The Literacy Campaign in Nigeria" |
| R. A. Soriano | "The Literacy Campaign in Uruguay" |
| A. Lakhdar | "The Organization of the Literacy, Campaign in Morocco" |
| Fakher Akil | "The Rural Teacher and Fundamental Education, An Experiment in Jordan" |

Vol. XIV, 1962, no. 2

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| A. J. Allaway | "Adult Education Centers in England and Wales" |
| Anna Lorenzetto | "Education for Adults in Southern Italy" |
| Jose Figueroa Ortiz | "The Rural Community Development Programme in Mexico" |
| Lucien Trichaud | "Cultural Youth Centers in France" |
| Jean-Pierre Maillard | "Malagasy Youth and Adult Education Problems in Madagascar" |
| A. A. Liveright | "Conference on University Adult Education in Africa" |

Education Abstracts is one of the several series published by UNESCO. Among the others are *UNESCO Chronicle*, *UNESCO Courier*,

Current School Enrollment Statistics, Educational Studies and Documents, and Statistical Reports and Studies. The *Abstracts*, like the other publications, carries notes and bibliographies on several educational problems in comparative perspective. Sample titles include:

- The Training of Fundamental Educators (Oct. 1955, Vol. 7, no. 8)
- The Education of Nomads and Migrants (Nov. 1956, Vol. 8, no. 9)
- Education in Belgium (June 1957, Vol. 9, no. 6)
- Educational Information Services in USSR (Jan. 1958, Vol. 10, no. 1)
- Comparative Education (Feb. 1958, Vol. 10, no. 2)
- Education in the Belgian Congo (Mar. 1958, Vol. 10, no. 3)
- Adult Education in Community Development (Oct. 1959, Vol. 11, no. 8)

Newsnotes on Education around the World is a publication of the United States Office of Education, International Relations Branch (green sheets). Recently the bulletins carried longer articles, for example, Nellie Apanasiewicz, "The National Education Commission of Poland 1773-1794" (April 8, 1960); and Kenneth L. Neff, "Education and the Development of the New Nations of Southeast Asia" (May 25, 1960). For the most part, however, *Newsnotes* consists of short notices of international events in the United States published as occasion arises.

Panorama: Teaching throughout the World, now renamed *Education Panorama*, is the major periodical of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, which also publishes a shorter periodical called *The Echo*, containing news and notes from around the world. *Panorama* is a quarterly that carries general articles of interest to teachers in many nations and articles on teaching and on educational problems in world perspective. Sample articles include:

- Kenneth M. Lanerolle, "The Argument for English in Ceylon" (Spring 1959)
- A. N. Schwartz, "The Nationalization of Textbooks in India" (Summer 1959)
- Denis Forestier, "Educational Reform in France" (Autumn 1959)
- Lord Hailey, "Differing Concepts of Education" (Winter 1960)
- Lawrence P. Patterson, "Special Education and International Cooperation" (Fall 1962)

Teachers of the World, International Pedagogical and Trade Union Review, is published in Prague by the World Federation of Teachers Unions (not to be confused with World Confederation of Organizations of the

Teaching Professions, the publishers of *Panorama*). Issue no. 1, 1962, has the following contents:

Paul Delanoue	"New Problems in the Struggle for Democratic Education"
C. Goody Urrutia	"The Educational Process in Latin America"
N. Goncharov	"On Harmonious Development of a Child"
Fernand Hostalier	"The Teachers of France, The Schools, Freedoms, and Peace"
Olga Poblete	"Teachers and the Struggle for Peace"
Alfred Wilke	"The Relations between School, Life, and Production in the Socialist Countries"

Informations universitaires et professionnelles internationales is an organ of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Information in Paris that concerns itself with maintaining permanent cooperation between national bodies of career guidance and placement. The journal carries French, English, German, and Spanish articles as well as placement information and news from several countries. Articles taken at random from issue no. 14, June 1960, were concerned with higher education in Greece and scientific and vocational education in the United Kingdom.

La revue internationale de psycho-pedagogie is published in Belgium on a trimester basis by Stanislas d'Otreumont (Editions Newart). The journal is devoted to international exchange of ideas in educational psychology and carries articles by international authorities as well as book reviews, bibliographies, and short notes. Articles in the first issue (July 1954, Vol. 1) (titles in translation) represent the offerings of the review as follows:

- W. Schultze, "The Situation in Education in West Germany"
- V. D'Espallier, "Current Trends in Psycho-pedagogy in Belgium"
- Fr. Anselme, "Organization and Situation of Belgian Education"
- J. Chateau, "Perspectives on Psycho-pedagogy in France"
- M. A. Bloch, "Activity Methods and the Difficulties They Encounter"
- H. Daniels-Rops, "The School for Parents"
- Sir Cyril Burt, "Current Trends in Psycho-pedagogy in Great Britain"
- E. A. Peel, "Some Aspects of Selection in the English Secondary Schools"
- L. Libois-Fonteyne, "Psychology and Pedagogy in the Soviet Union"
- Robert Dottrens, "The Teaching of Pedagogy in Swiss Universities"

Science and Freedom is a now discontinued publication of the Committee on Science and Freedom and comes from Manchester, England. This periodical appeared as materials became available and was concerned with the problems of academic freedom in the universities throughout the world. Nineteen issues of this publication are available, and universities in the following countries, among others, have been discussed: Australia, the Arab League, British Caribbean, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Germany, Great Britain, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latin America, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Tibet, Turkey, USA, USSR, Yugoslavia.¹⁹

Not to be confused with the preceding periodical, *Youth and Freedom* is a publication of the East European Student and Youth Service in New York. This bimonthly publication reports on youth throughout the world, with special attention devoted to Communist countries. The periodical carries special feature papers, extensive news items on several countries, and other articles. Sample articles are the following:

- D. Nguyen, "The Pen and the Sword: Intellectuals in North Vietnam" (Vol. 3, no. 1-2)
 Karl Reyman, "Individualism vs. Collectivism in Communist China" (Vol. 3, no. 1-2)
 Leon V. Hirsch, "Youth in a Changing India" (Vol. 3, no. 3-4)

Notes and Abstracts in the Social Foundations of American and International Education has been published in photo offset by the School of Education, University of Michigan, since December 1961. It features news about research and teaching of faculty and students in the international and related fields. Two samples of research projects reported in *Notes and Abstracts* are "A Study of the Allocation of Educational Resources to the Population: An International Comparison of Selected Factors" (Mar. 1962, no. 2) and Leslie J. Jay, "Geography in the Schools of England and the United States" (June 1963, no. 3).

Foreign Education Digest is a mimeographed periodical that has been published quarterly by Sophie W. Downs, 1560 Oxford Street, Berkeley, California, for several years. The *Digest* publishes abstracts containing factual information on foreign educational systems from less known sources such as *USSR Magazine*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Industrial Welfare*. Much space is devoted to less well-known countries, including Communist countries; for example, the April-June 1962 issue (Vol. 26, no. 4) contains reviews of the educational structure of Yugoslavia; Cuba, 1959-1960; Ghana; Saudi Arabia; China; Burma; and others. The issue also carries sections on new developments around the world,

Friendship University in Moscow, teaching by television in Italy, the Norwegian Traveling Theater.

School and Society, a journal that has been published in New York for almost 50 years on behalf of the Society for the Advancement of Education was for many years edited by Dr. I. L. Kandel, and since 1953 by Dr. W. W. Brickman. The journal is published biweekly and regularly contains, among other features, short articles on comparative and international education. As a sample of contents one may quote a special issue published in honor of I. L. Kandel (Jan. 21, 1956, Vol. 83, no. 2077):

W. W. Brickman	"I. L. Kandel at Seventy-five"
Thomas Woody	"The Trend toward International Education"
Flaud C. Wooton	"The Educational Scene as Revealed by Comparative Education"
Robert Ulich	"Some Recent Tendencies in Educational Philosophy"
H. G. Good	"I. L. Kandel's Application of History to Educational Problems"

The *Paedagogica Historica* is the historical equivalent of the *International Review of Education* and is edited in Ghent by Dr. R. L. Plancke. Articles of interest to comparative educators in the first five issues include:

Vol. I, no. 1, 1961, pp. 67-86: Matsutaro Ishikawa, "Past and Present Study of Japanese Educational History"; pp. 87-98: Nicholas Hans, "Antonio Cocchi and his letter on English Education"; pp. 99-119: B. F. Nel and P. A. Duminy, "A Survey of the Development of the Training of European (White) Teachers in South Africa, 1652-1960"; pp. 134-144: Guillermo Sanhueza, *El desarrollo de las escuelas normales en Chile hasta 1940*; Vol. I, no. 2, 1961, pp. 213-224: P. J. Dowling, "History of Education in the Republic of Ireland"; pp. 291-326: Theodor Schulze, *Stand und Probleme der erziehungswissenschaftlichen Schleiermacher-Forschung in Deutschland*; pp. 327-347: Luigi Volpicelli, *Un trattato inedito sull'educazione della donna nella Controriforma in Italia*; Vol. II, no. 1, 1962, pp. 5-21: William W. Brickman, "An Historical Survey of Foreign Writings on American Educational History"; pp. 31-43: Tomaharu Hayashi, "Some Characteristics of Social Education in the Orient"; pp. 69-80: A. Leon, *Les écoles centrales de la Révolution et l'enseignement technique*; pp. 81-94: F. Musgrove, "Two Educational Controversies in Eighteenth Century England. Nature and Nurture; Private and Public Education"; Vol. II, no. 2, 1962, pp. 234-254: Kenneth V. Lottich, "Democracy and Education in the Early American Northwest"; pp. 255-286: Werner S. Nicklis, *Das Verhältnis der Pädagogik G. Kerschensteiners zu Pestalozzi. Monographische Studien über Wirkungen und Nachwirkungen*; pp. 287-350: Siegfried Oppolzer, *Anthropologie und Pädagogik bei Rudolf Steiner*.

The survey of periodicals is concluded with an Italian journal published by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The *Rivista di legislazione scolastica comparata* is published in Rome four times a year and contains articles on Italian and foreign educational systems. Below are sample articles (Jan.-Feb. 1961, Vol. 19, no. 1):

Leo Magnino

Problemi i tendenze della scolarità obbligatoria nei diversi paesi

Alfonso de Prospero

Panorama dell'educazione in Jugoslavia

Several other governments maintain such journals. Belgium, for example, publishes *L'Actualité pédagogique à l'Étranger*, containing brief news items and articles on foreign happenings in education. The USSR maintains an annual *Pedagogika i narodnoe obrazovanie v zarubezhnykh stranakh*, which prints digests of foreign books and articles in the field of education. In France, apart from the reports on foreign education which occasionally appear in government journals such as the already mentioned *Courrier de la Recherche Pédagogique*, we find *Le Français dans le Monde*, the journal concerned with the teaching of the French language throughout the world. In Germany there are two similar journals, *Der Deutsche Lehrer im Ausland* and *Der Deutsche Unterricht im Ausland*. In East Germany, a new publication, *Vergleichende Pädagogik*, was inaugurated by the Deutsches Pädagogisches Zentral Institut in Berlin in 1962. Soviet journals and magazines such as *Uchitel'skaia Gazeta*, *Sovetskaia pedagogika* and *Vestnik vysshei shkoly* also frequently carry articles or sections on foreign education.

Other periodicals devoted wholly or in part to international matters include:

- Adult Education* (London, National Institute of Adult Education)
- Bildung und Erziehung* (Bonn, Germany, Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle)
- British Journal of Educational Studies* (London, Faber and Faber)
- Bulletin of the Institute of Comparative Education and Culture* (Kyushu University, Japan)
- Clearing House* (Rutherford, N. J., Fairleigh Dickinson University Press)
- Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Society for the Comparative Study of Society and History, Chicago)
- Education in France* (New York, Cultural Services of the French Embassy)
- Educational Forum* (Tiffin, O., Kappa Delta Pi)
- Harvard Education Review* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- The Health Education Journal* (London, Central Council for Health Education)

- History of Education Quarterly* (Pittsburgh, Pa., History of Education Society)
The New Era in Home and School (London, New Education Fellowship)
Paedagogica Belgica (Ghent, Belgium, University of Ghent, Higher Institute of Pedagogical Sciences)
Phi Delta Kappan (Bloomington, Ind., Phi Delta Kappa)
Problemi della Pedagogia (Rome, University of Rome, Institute of Pedagogy)
Proyecto Principal de Educación (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, UNESCO)
The School Review (Chicago, University of Chicago)
Scientia Paedagogica: Review of the International Secretariat for the University Study of Education (Ghent, Belgium, University of Ghent, Higher Institute of Pedagogical Sciences)
Soviet Education (New York, International Arts and Sciences Press)
Sovieto Kyoiku Kagaku (Tokyo: Society for the Study of Soviet Education)
Teachers College Record (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University)

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS

In addition to sources discussed above, the following is a list of serial publications concerned with comparative study of school systems:

Catholic University of America Press (Washington, D.C.)

- Bronars, Joseph, *Higher Education in Poland, Some Aspects of Its Sovietization* (1957, 13 pp.).
 De Pauw, Gommar, *The Educational Rights of the Church and Elementary Schools in Belgium* (1953, 148 pp.).
 Tuohy, M. Vincent, *The Role of Catholic Education in Fostering World Peace* (1948, 121 pp.).

Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University

Columbia Comparative Education Studies

- Bereday, George Z. F., *Charles Edward Merriam's The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training* (1964).
 Brickman, W. W., *John Dewey's Impressions of Russia and the Revolutionary World, Mexico-China-Turkey* (1964).
 Fraser, Stewart, *Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education* (1964).
 Passin, Herbert, *Society and Education in Japan* (1964).

Studies in Education (Bureau of Publications, since 1950)

- Antonakaki, K. D., *Greek Education* (1955, 274 pp.).
 Cormack, Margaret, *The Hindu Woman* (1953, 207 pp.).

- Kotb, Y. S. F., *Science and Science Education in Egyptian Society* (1951, 250 pp.).
- Miles, Donald, *Recent Reforms in French Secondary Education* (1953, 163 pp.).
- Radwan, A. F. A., *Old and New Forces in Egyptian Education* (1951, 192 pp.).
- Samaan, Sadek, *Value Reconstruction and Egyptian Education* (1955, 157 pp.).
- Shumsky, Abraham, *The Clash of Cultures in Israel* (1955, 170 pp.).

Studies of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University
 Kandel, I. L., *Essays in Comparative Education* (1930, 235 pp.).

———, *French Elementary Schools; Official Courses of Study* (1926, 270 pp.).

———, *The Reform of Secondary Education in France* (1924, 159 pp.).

———, and Thomas Alexander, *The Reorganization of Education in Prussia* (1927, 647 pp.).

Monroe, Paul, *Essays in Comparative Education* (1927, 258 pp.).

Russell, William, *Schools in Bulgaria* (1924, 101 pp.).

International Conference on Public Education (International Bureau of Education, Geneva) (Sample publications)

Educational Planning (1962, 193 pp.). All earlier publications of the International Bureau (242) are listed on the covers of this volume.

Organization of Special Education for Mentally Deficient Children (1960, 272 pp.).

Preparation of General Secondary School Curricula (1960, 329 pp.).

Twenty-third International Conference on Public Education (1960, 151 pp.).

Kappa Delta Pi Series (Tiffin, Ohio)

Justman, Joseph, *The Italian People and Their Schools* (no. 1, 1958, 65 pp.).

Parker, Franklin, *African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia* (no. 2, 1960, 165 pp.).

Passow, Harry A., *Secondary Education for All: The English Approach* (no. 3, 1961, 290 pp.).

Pillsbury, Kent, *UNESCO Education in Action* (no. 4, 1963, 106 pp.).

New York University Comparative Education Series, ed. W. W. Brickman (New York)

Comparative Education and Foreign Educational Service (New York: New York University School of Education, 1957, 56 pp.).

Comparative Education in Theory and Practice, *Journal of Educational Sociology* (November 1956, Vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 113-160).

Research in Comparative Education (New York: New York University School of Education, 1959, 39 p.).

The Role of Comparative Education in the Education of Teachers (New York: New York University School of Education, 1954, 23 pp.).

Teaching about Soviet Education; School and Society (no. 8, 1958, 23 pp.).

The Teaching of Comparative Education (New York: New York University School of Education, 1955, 58 pp.).

Organisation Européenne de Coopération Économique, Bureau de Personnel Scientifique et Technique (Paris)

Examen annuel des programmes de formation du personnel Scientifique et Technique. Reports on Canada, France, the United Kingdom, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United States, 1958-1959.

Schweizerisches Ost-Institut, Bern, Switzerland, ed. Peter Sager

Die Schule- und Wissenschaftspolitik der Ungarischen Volksrepublik 1945-1956 (1958, 59 pp.).

L'Evolution de l'enseignement dans les démocraties populaires (1959, 162 pp.).

Peter Sager, *Wissenschaft und Politik in der Soviet-Union* (1959, 43 pp.).

Otto Pálffy, *L'Education en Union soviétique* (1959, 42 pp.).

Stanford University School of Education Comparative Education Series

High, Sidney C., *Vocational Industrial Education in the Newly Developing Nations: A Case Study of the Philippines 1951-1956* (Stanford, Calif.: 1960, no. 1, 68 pp.).

Studies in the Universities and World Affairs (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York)

Du Bois, Cora, *Foreign Students and Higher Education in the United States* (1956, 230 pp.).

Houle, Cyril, O., and Charles A. Nelson, *The University, the Citizen, and World Affairs* (1956, 179 pp.).

Wilson, Howard E., *American College Life as Education in World Outlook* (1956, 195 pp.).

UNESCO

Educational Missions

Report on the Mission to Thailand (1950, 56 pp.).

Report on the Mission to the Philippines (1950, 74 pp.).

Report on the Mission to Burma (1952, 91 pp.).

Report on the Mission to Afghanistan (1952, 87 pp.).

Report on the Mission to Libya (1952, 84 pp.).

Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea (1954, 221 pp.).

Monographs on Fundamental Education

Colombain, Maurice, *Co-operatives and Fundamental Education* (1950, 171 pp.).

Fundamental Education, a Description and Programme, (1949, 84 pp.).

Hughes, L. H., *The Mexican Cultural Mission Programme* (1950, 77 pp.).

Marier, Roger, *Social Welfare Work in Jamaica* (1953, 166 pp.).

Progress of Literacy in Various Countries (A Preliminary Statistical Study of Available Census Data since 1900) (1953, 224 pp. and graphs).

Richards, Charles, *The Provision of Popular Reading Materials* (1958, 298 pp.).

The Haiti Pilot Project, Phase One (1947-1949) (1951, 83 pp.).

The Healthy Village: an Experiment in Visual Education in West China (1949, 119 pp.).

Youth and Fundamental Education (1954, 86 pp.).

World Illiteracy at Mid-Century (A Statistical Study) (1957, 200 pp.).

Problems in Education

Brosse, Theresa, *War-handicapped Children: Report on the European Situation* (1950, 142 pp.).

Vagrant Children (1951, 91 pp.).

Universities in Adult Education (1952, 172 pp.).

Women and Education (1953, 264 pp.).

Richardson, C. A., H. Brûlé, and H. E. Snyder, *The Education of Teachers in England, France and the U.S.A.* (1953, 340 pp.).

Lourenço, M. B., Filho, and others, *The Training of Rural School Teachers* (1953, 164 pp.).

Wall, W. D., *Education and Mental Health* (1952, 347 pp.).

Race Questions and Modern Thought

Congar, Yves, M.J., *The Catholic Church and the Race Question*, 1953.

Malalasekera, G. P., and K. N. Jayatillek, *Buddhism and the Race Question* (1958, 73 pp.).

Roth, Leon, *Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization* (1954, 70 pp.).

Visser 't Hooft, W. A., *The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem* (1954, 70 pp.).

Race and Society

Berger, Morroe, *Racial Equality and the Law* (1955, 76 pp.).

De Azevedo, Thales, *Les élites de couleur dans une ville brésilienne* (1953, 107 pp.).

Wagley, Charles, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (1952, 160 pp.).

Studies on Compulsory Education

Bilodeau, Charles, Somlith Pathammavong, and Le Quang Hong, *Compulsory Education in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam* (1955, 157 pp.).

Clark, Victor, *Compulsory Education in Iraq* (1951, 76 pp.).

Compulsory Education in the Arab States, with Special Reference to the Cairo Conference (December 1954 and 1956, 83 pp.).

Compulsory Education in Australia, a Study by the Australian National Commission for UNESCO (1953, 189 pp.).

Compulsory Education in New Zealand, a Study initiated by the National Commission for UNESCO (1952, 130 pp.).

Compulsory Education in South Asia and the Pacific, Report of the Bombay Conference (1954, 157 pp.).

Debiesse, Jean, *Compulsory Education in France* (1951, 149 pp.).

Hug, M. S., *Compulsory Education in Pakistan* (1954, 169 pp.).

Hutasoit, M., *Compulsory Education in Indonesia* (1954, 111 pp.).

Isidro, Antonio, Juan C. Carnave, Priscila S. Manalang, and Matilde M. Valdes, *Compulsory Education in the Philippines* (1952, 83 pp.).

Jumsai, M. L. Manich, *Compulsory Education in Thailand* (1951, 110 pp.).

Kandel, I. L., *Raising the School-leaving Age* (1950, 71 pp.).

Saiyidain, K. G., J. P. Naik, and S. Abis Husain, *Compulsory Education in India* (1952, 192 pp.).

Smith, W. O. Lester, *Compulsory Education in England* (1951, 63 pp.).

Uzcategui, Emilio, *Compulsory Education in Ecuador* (1951, 60 pp.).

Toward World Understanding (Paris) 1949-1953

Some Suggestions on Teaching about the United Nations and Its Specialized Agencies (1949, 26 pp.).

The Education and Training of Teachers (1952, 61 pp.).

A Selected Bibliography (1950, 79 pp.).

The United Nations and World Citizenship (1949).

In the Classroom with Children under Thirteen Years of Age (1952, 63 pp.).

The Influence of Home and Community on Children under Thirteen Years of Age (1952, 53 pp.).

Some Suggestions on the Teaching of Geography (1950, 98 pp.).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Guide for Teachers (1953, 87 pp.).

C. P. Hill, *Suggestions on the Teaching of History* (1953, 117 pp.).

A Handbook of Suggestions on the Teaching of Geography (1951, 101 pp.).

J. A. Lauwerys, *History Textbooks and International Understanding* (1953, 82 pp.).

Round the World with a Postage Stamp: A Booklet for Teachers and Children about the Universal Postal Union (1953, 38 pp.).

Unity and Diversity of Culture Series

Humanism and Education in East and West Interrelations of Cultures (1953, 224 pp.).

The Old and the New World; Their Cultural and Moral Relations (1954, 365 pp.).

UNESCO Institute, Hamburg, *International Studies in Education*

L'Enseignement des Sciences Sociales au Niveau Préuniversitaire (1962, 67 pp.).

Foshay, Arthur W., et al., *Educational Achievements of Thirteen-year-olds in Twelve Countries* (1962, 68 pp.).

Hug, Wolfgang, *Die Entwicklungsländer im Schulunterricht* (1962, 70 pp.).

- Wall, W. P., F. J. Schonell, and Willard C. Olson, *Failure in School* (1962, 158 pp.).
- Willcock, J. B., *Preparing Teachers for Education for International Understanding* (1962, 100 pp.).

University of California Publications in Education (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles)

- Holtrop, W. F., *Vocational Education in the Netherlands* (Vol. 11, no. 2, 1951, 158 pp.).
- Lilje, Frederick, *Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko* (1958, Vol. 13, no. 1, 52 pp.).
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VISUAL AIDS

A section on visual aids has been included in this chapter because such devices, though fairly commonly used in teaching, are not customarily included in the descriptions and discussions of comparative education methods. Yet a case can be made for the special importance of visualization in teaching comparative education. Words, sounds, images, and even smells should be combined to convey, especially to beginner students, the flavor as well as the nature of the educational enterprises. Such exposure is important as preparation for travel, and it is especially important in connection with the study of countries that the student cannot visit.

The standard visual aids in comparative education, as in other fields, are charts, pictures, slides, and films. Nothing needs to be said about charts and diagrams. The reader may consult the *World Survey of Education*, Vernon Mallinson's and Edmund King's textbooks, and the figures in Chapter 1 of this book to estimate their usefulness. Maps and diagrams have obviously an important teaching potential. They permit a quick explanation of descriptions and arguments that are too involved for verbal elucidation.

Pictures and photographs are also of vital importance in comparative education. Here the reader is referred to *Overseas: The News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, journals like *UNESCO Courier*, *Education Panorama*, King's *Other Schools and Ours*, and *The Changing Soviet School* by Bereday, Brickman, and Read to see photographs illuminating several aspects of education. There are one or two excellent collections of photographs that illustrate the potentialities and occasional use of this medium. Hanns Reich's *Children of Many Lands* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1958), Yul Brynner's *Bring Forth the Children* (London: Arthur Barker, 1960), and the more general *The Family of Man* by Edward Steichen (New York: Museum of Modern Art, n.d.) are representative of such collections. There are great potentialities in collections of school photographs assembled on a comparative basis. Perhaps the use of photos by the *National Geographic Magazine* can be held up as an example that ought to be emulated in comparative education.

Films in comparative education available in the United States have been described by Anthony Scarangelo in *Comparative Education Review*,

October 1959,²⁰ and relevant articles for Britain and other areas will be found in *Communication Media and the School: The Year Book of Education, 1960*.²¹ Films are available on the educational systems of many areas of the world; even more plentiful are *Kulturfilms*, which describe life in different nations and which often include sections on education. These films are seldom prepared with the teaching of comparative education specifically in mind. Even if they were, they would represent an "inflexible" medium that can supplement teaching or have teaching built around it, but that cannot directly and well reinforce classroom lectures.

Such direct reinforcement has traditionally been supplied by classroom projectors. But conventional slides and other visual aids are still not sufficiently flexible. Unless conceived as lantern lectures, these materials require showing after class (in which case they are no more convenient than films) or mean awkward interruptions of teaching because the assistant must be instructed to insert new slides, darken the room, and so forth. Thus comparative education workers are forced to search for more flexible means of visualization. Fortunately two such possibilities have arisen recently, owing to the advances of modern technology.

The first, less expensive but also limited in scope, is the overhead projector. This device has the merit of being placed directly by the lecturer's side. Projection takes place over his head on the screen behind him. Slides and other visual materials can be inserted and manipulated by the teacher while he speaks. Projection takes place in normal light thus eliminating darkening or any other interruption of the teaching process. The cost of the projector with attachments does not exceed \$350. Properly operated it is the most accessible means of instant visualization. Its only drawback is that it requires preparation of special slides for all materials: 10 by 10, or 7 by 7 inches in size. For the time being ordinary slides and other data cannot be used with this medium. An example of the overhead projector is the Delineascope, manufactured in Buffalo by the American Optical Company.

The second, much more expensive but automated medium, is the teleprompter device developed by the Teleprompter Corporation of New York. A fully automated lectern permits the lecturer to address the audience through a transparent glass pane, in which he can read the text of his lecture (unveiling on a teleprompter roll unbeknown to the audience). To his text are plugged every and any audiovisual device he may require. When a given word is spoken, there may appear on the screen behind the lecturer pictures and slides which can be projected simultaneously on five screens, films can start rolling, or audio tapes can

be heard. Thus a lecturer can prepare his presentation with the support of a complete system of accompanying audiovisualization. He may interrupt the reading of the lecture at any time (thus stopping the teleprompter), walk over to the screens to expand upon particular images (since projection is from behind the screen he does not cast a shadow upon it), and return to resume the prepared reading at will. The teleprompter device has the drawback of requiring minute-by-minute planning of the presentation. The preparation of materials, which must all be photographed to a required size, is extremely costly and time consuming. Data from books do not lend themselves to the presentation as the available reproduction machinery can copy only from simple sheets of paper. The cost of installation runs in the vicinity of \$30,000. But the equipment permits complete visualization of lectures, until now only attainable through the costly device of filming.

Concern for visualization, search for new literature ever increasing in solidity, attempts at systematization of comparative analysis, efforts to evolve better criteria of comparability, insistence on relevance of pedagogical data to social circumstances, new means to find and catalogue pedagogical information; such are in reverse order the current directions in the field of comparative education reflected in this book. Hopefully they will amount to its emergence as a full-fledged academic discipline. The path from the original alchemy to the final science is arduous, but the rewards are in the expanded human vision. When such vision is applied to the improvement of the training of the young, and through them to the improvement of life itself, the potentialities of the field are thousandfold. Perhaps as some critics like to tell us we are humbly at the beginning of the road. But with so much at stake who is it that can doubt the justification for making the effort. Virtually every problem in pedagogy has a historical perspective and because the study of the past is hallowed by usage, no one is predisposed to question the relevance of history to the study of education. Every such problem also has a geographical perspective and it is folly to permit the ignorance of these vital and broadening aspects in education. The question is not whether it should be done, but how to do it well. To the furthering of this ideal all those who attempt to work seriously in the field of comparative education must be unwaveringly dedicated.

Notes

Chapter One

(pp. 3-28)

1. An earlier version of this chapter was delivered as a lecture in French at the Sorbonne on November 12, 1960; in Russian at Moscow University, April 7, 1961; and in English at Tokyo University, April 18, 1962. The text was published in German in *Weltweite Erziehung: Festgabe für Friedrich Schneider*, ed. Wolfgang Brezinka (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1961), pp. 139-162. Subsequently the contents of this chapter were delivered as lectures at the universities of Michigan, Pennsylvania State, Columbia, Singapore, Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Kyushu.
2. Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, Book II.
3. Ralph Linton, "One Hundred Per Cent American," *The American Mercury*, Vol. 40, pp. 427-429.
4. Jullien's pamphlet is available in French in *Archives Nationales in Paris*; in extracts in Pedro Rosselló *Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris* (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, 1943); in full in a pamphlet published by the same bureau (1962); in German in Hans Espe, ed., *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten zu einem Werk über die vergleichende Erziehung* (Orbis Verlag, n.d.); in English in Henry Barnard, *American Journal*, Vol. 1 (July 1826), pp. 408ff; and in David C. Scanlon, *International Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960), pp. 53-61. Jullien's full work is now available in English in Stewart Fraser, *Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education*, Comparative Education Studies (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964). Jullien's work was recently evaluated afresh by Friedrich Schneider, *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), pp. 18-22.
5. A review of the history of comparative education can be found in William W. Brickman, "A Historical Introduction to Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 6-12. This article was subsequently printed in *Proceedings of the International Conference of Educational Research, Tokyo, August 31-September 8* (Organizing Committee, 1961), pp. 108-113. See also Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-82.
6. Relevant books are Nicholas Hans, *Comparative Education*, 3d ed. (London: Routledge, 1958; reprinted, 1961); Franz Hilker, *Vergleichende Pädagogik* (München: Huebner, 1962); I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), and *The New Era in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955); Pedro Rosselló, *La teoría de las corrientes educativas* (Rio de Janeiro: UNESCO, 1960); Friedrich Schneider, *Triebkräfte der Pädagogik der Völker* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1947) and *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Heidelberg, Quelle and Meyer, 1961); Robert Ulich, *Education of Nations: A Historical-Comparative Treatise* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).

7. See the *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (Spens Report) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), especially pp. 416-420. See also Heinrich Diehl, doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, "The Influence of Tradition upon the Character of the Comprehensive School in England," pp. 46-48 (now also available in German as *Die englische Schule zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt*, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1962, see Chapter 2).
8. See Donald W. Miles, *Recent Reforms in French Secondary Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 46-49.
9. As samples of theoretical publications of some of these, the following works may be cited: C. Arnold Anderson, "The Utility of Typologies in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1959), pp. 20-22 and "Methodology of Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (1961), pp. 1-23; Maurice Debesse, "Qu'est-ce que l'éducation comparée?" *Bulletin de la Société Française de Pédagogie*, no. 125 (July 1958), pp. 43-64; Brian Holmes, "The Problem Approach in Comparative Education: Some Methodological Considerations," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (June 1958), pp. 3-8 and "Comparative Education and the Administrator," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 29 (May 1958), pp. 242-250; Philip J. Idenburg, *Inleidende tot de Vergelijkende Opvoedkunde* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1959, 52 pp.); Joseph Lauwerys, "The Philosophical Approach to Comparative Education" in *Thoughts on Comparative Education, Festschrift for Pedro Rosselló*, *International Review of Education*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1959), pp. 25-42 and "Aspekte der vergleichenden Pädagogik," *Bildung und Erziehung*, Vol. 14, Heft 4 (April 1961), pp. 221-226; Roger Gal, *Où en est la pédagogie* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1961, 233 pp.); L. R. Ferning, "Global Approach to Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1959), pp. 87-99; William W. Brickman, "Comparative Education: A Rational Approach to Evaluating School Systems," in *Teaching and Learning* (New York: Ethical Culture Schools of New York City, 1962), pp. 36-42 and "Rickover as Comparative Educator," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 40, no. 2 (Nov. 1958); Edmund King, "Students, Teachers and Researchers in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 33-36 and *World Perspectives in Education* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962, 380 pp.).
10. See George Z. F. Bereday, "Some Discussion of Methods in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1947), p. 14.
11. See Bereday, "A Note on the Pitfalls in Comparative Education" in Bower Aly, ed., *American Education* (Columbia, Missouri: National University Extension Association, 1958), Vol. 1, p. 28.
12. King, "Students, Teachers and Researchers in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*. Reprinted also with modifications in King, *World Perspectives in Education*, Chapter 14.
13. From an editorial by George Z. F. Bereday in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (Oct. 1958), p. 3.

14. Models for this approach can be found in R. Freeman Butts, *Assumptions underlying Australian Education* (Melbourne: Australian Council on Education, 1955) and in David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1956).
15. See Lauwerys, "The Philosophical Approach to Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, and Andreas Kazamias, "Some Old and New Approaches to Methodology in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1961), pp. 90-96.
16. This is discussed further in Chapters 7-9.
17. There are also good collections in London, Tokyo, New York, Bonn, Frankfurt, and Rome; in university, special institute, and ministry of education libraries.
18. Even a simple map showing the institutions of higher learning in Scandinavia reveals that such institutions tend to bunch in major cities and hence along the line of southern sea routes, a visual conclusion not readily apparent from reading the listings in *Europa Yearbook*, the source used. Only most recently new universities have been proposed for the more northern regions: in Umeå in Sweden, Trondheim in Norway, and Uleåborg in Finland. For an example of a comparative map on a world scale see UNESCO, *World Illiteracy at Midcentury* (Monographs on Fundamental Education, 1957), opposite p. 200. For a history of the use of isotypes see Marie Neurath, "The Origin and Theory of Isotype" in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, eds., *Communication Media and Education: The Year Book of Education*, 1960 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers, 1960), pp. 112-120.
19. The preparation of such diagrams is encouraged by the requirements of this writer's course, "Fundamentals of Comparative Education," at Teachers College, Columbia University. The diagram on Japan was prepared in fulfillment of such a requirement by Mr. J. T. Force, who took the course in the spring of 1959.
20. The sixfold classification to replace the traditional primary, secondary and higher education breakdown was developed by Franz Hilker and was adopted by a conference on comparative education held at the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg in March 1963. A further modified version is used in this book.
21. The work of Robert Ulich is the latest example of the historical approach.
22. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959). The book is noteworthy as an essay in comparative education by a nonspecialist.
23. The nature of "simultaneous comparison" is further discussed in Chapter 2 and is illustrated in Chapters 4-6.
24. See also Brian Holmes, "The Problem Approach in Comparative Education. . . ." The editors of the *Year Book of Education* (for a description of the *Year Book* see Chapter 11) have pioneered in the problem approach conceived as an adoption of a general problem topic or theme on which participants from many countries are then invited to write. As treated by Hans, *op. cit.*, the problems are sociological categories that serve as guideposts for a qualitative analysis of a series of countries to which the category applies. Chapters 2-6 in the present book deal with problems across national frontiers in systematized and simultaneous fashion.

25. See Anderson, "The Utility of Typologies in Comparative Education."
26. A general revival of interest in education among economists followed, reflected in the work of such men as Theodore Schultz and Jean Bowman at the University of Chicago, Frederick Harbison at Princeton, Nicholas DeWitt at the University of Indiana, Adam Curle and Russell Davis at Harvard, and Harold Clark and Harold Noah at Columbia University.
27. A good example of the need for a more precise definition of terms in tables of this kind is the query raised by Soviet educators when they were presented with the original version. That version showed the United States as pursuing the over-all goal of progress and the Soviet Union pursuing collectivism. The Soviet colleagues maintained that progress is also their primary goal and pointed to the just accomplished space flight of Gagarin as proof. At their suggestion progress through individualism and through collectivism was adopted for the two countries respectively, in the revised table. The English and Japanese educators raised no objections to the designations used for their systems.

Chapter Two

(pp. 29-51)

1. An earlier version of this chapter was read as a working paper at the second annual eastern regional conference of the Comparative Education Society on April 29, 1960 at Teachers College, Columbia University. It was published in German in *Bildung und Erziehung* as "Schulreformen in Frankreich und der Türkei—Versuch einer systematischen Vergleichung," Vol. 14, Heft 4 (April 1961), pp. 246-258. The four steps of classification of procedure first proposed in that article were later happily named by Franz Hilker in *Vergleichende Pädagogik* (München: Huebner, 1962) as description, interpretation, juxtaposition, and comparison. That terminology (in part derived from other writers in the field, such as Pedro Rosselló) has been adopted throughout this book.
2. The writer wishes to thank Professor Refia Shemin of the University of Istanbul and Mr. Ahmed Osmambu of the ministry of education for their kind help during his visit to Istanbul in June 1960. He is also indebted to Mr. Muhittin Akdik of the Turkish Embassy in New York for help with bibliographical materials and to Professor Alexandre Vexliard of the University of Ankara for general comments on this chapter. The responsibility for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the Turkish reforms, however, rests solely with the author.
3. Preliminary work on these tables was done by Ursula Kirkpatrick.
4. Henry Chauncey, "Some Comparative Checkpoints between American and Soviet Secondary Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (Feb. 1959), pp. 18-20; see also Victor N. Low, "Education for the Bantu: A South African Dilemma," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (Oct. 1958), pp. 21-26 and Dixie Lee Harris, "Education of Linguistic Minorities in the United States and the USSR," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (Feb. 1963), pp. 191-199.
5. An earlier version of this section was part of the editors' introduction in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, eds., *The Secondary School Curriculum:*

- The Year Book of Education*, 1958 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers, 1958), pp. 21-39.
6. Nicholas Hans, "State and Church in Education in Italy and France," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Feb. 1958), pp. 10-11.
 7. Philip Foster, "Comparative Methodology and the Study of African Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1960), pp. 110-117.
 8. Sassani, "Recent Trends in Turkish Educational Policies," *School and Society*, Vol. 84, no. 2092, p. 51.
 9. See also a paragraph of the editorial by this writer in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), p. 1 for further definition of simultaneous comparison.
 10. *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education*, Year 33, 2d quarter, 1959, no. 131, p. 66.
 11. Sassani, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
 12. Hilker, "Zur theoretischen Grundlegung einer vergleichenden Pädagogik," *Bildung und Erziehung*, Vol. 10, 1957, Heft 10, p. 618.

Chapter Three

(pp. 55-69)

1. Parts of the manuscript for this chapter were taken from this writer's article comparing education in four central European countries: "Education and Youth" in Henry Roberts, ed., *The Satellites in Eastern Europe: Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 317 (May 1958), pp. 63-70.
2. *Siedem Dni w Polsce*, no. 8 (Apr. 21, 1957), p. 5 (my translation).
3. See, for example, John S. Rashetar, "Moscow's European Satellite, The Educational Weapon," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 271 (Sept. 1950), pp. 135-144.
4. For a detailed description see *L'évolution de l'enseignement dans les démocraties populaires* (Bern: Schweizerisches Ost-Institut, 1959).
5. Brian Simon, *Education in the New Poland* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1954), p. 62. This program was in force until 1961 when a new reform along the lines of the Soviet reforms of 1958 was enacted.
6. *International Yearbook of Education* (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, 1956), p. 304.
7. UNESCO, *World Illiteracy at Midcentury* (Paris: UNESCO, 1957), pp. 42, 118.
8. The materials included in this chapter are in part from personal observations. The writer was lecturing at the University of Warsaw and Poznań under the Ford Foundation Program in 1959. He also visited Gdańsk, Kraków, and Zakopane. He was again in Warsaw, his native city, in 1961.
9. See, for example, Siegfried Kracauer and Paul L. Berkman, *Satellite Mentality*, (New York: Praeger, 1956), pp. 93-96.

10. For those unfamiliar with the details, see *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*—1957–58, p. 15872.
11. See Neal Buhler and Stanley Zukowski, *Discrimination in Education in the People's Democracies* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, Free Europe Committee, 1955, 61 pp.).
12. Hanna Malewska, "Kłamstwo Dzieci w Oczach Dzieci" (Children's Lies in the Eyes of Children), *Nowa Szkoła*, no. 3 (March 1959), p. 29.
13. See Czesław Miłosz, *The Captive Mind* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955, 241 pp.).
14. *Magazyn Polski*, no. 3 (Warsaw: Apr. 1957), p. 129.
15. Ryszard Dyoniziak, "Młodzieżowa Podkultura" (Youth Subculture) *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, Vol. VI, no. 2 (Apr.–June 1962), p. 175.
16. Marek Hlasko, *The Eighth Day of the Week* (New York: Dutton, 1958), 128 pp.
17. Joseph S. Roucek, "Juvenile Delinquency and Crime in the Soviet Bloc," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 3 (Feb. 1960), pp. 40–47.

Chapter Four

(pp. 70–92)

1. Earlier versions of this chapter were read as a paper at the third annual conference on comparative education held at the School of Education, New York University, April 27, 1956; as an All-College Lecture, Teachers College, Columbia University, August 1, 1956; and as the Second Convocation Lecture, School of Education, University of Wisconsin, March 17, 1958. An abridged version was published in *Social Problems*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (Jan. 1957), pp. 208–219.
2. See Kazamias, "Some Old and New Approaches to Methodology in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1961), pp. 90–96.
3. *New Times*, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1956), Documents, Statements by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev in India, Burma and Afghanistan (New York: The Soviet Delegation to the United Nations), p. 17.
4. Ashby, *Scientist in Russia* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1947), Pelican Books A186.
5. DeWitt, *Soviet Professional Manpower* (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1955).
6. DeWitt, *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR* (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1962).
7. W. H. E. Johnson, *Russia's Educational Heritage* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1950).
8. Widmayer, "The Evolution of Soviet Educational Policy," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1954), pp. 159–175.
9. Korol, *Soviet Education for Science and Technology* (New York: Wiley, 1957, 513 pp.).

10. Counts, (and N. Lodge), *The Country of the Blind* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949); *I Want To Be Like Stalin* (New York: John Day, 1947); *The Challenge of Soviet Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959); *Khrushchev and the Central Committee Speak on Education* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960).
11. See footnotes 5 and 6.
12. George Z. F. Bereday, William W. Brickman, and Gerald H. Read, eds., *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960); Bereday and Jaan Pennar, eds., *Politics of Soviet Education* (New York: Praeger, 1960).
13. Arther H. Trace, *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't* (New York: Random House, 1962), 211 pp.
14. For example, E. N. Medinskii, *Prosvetshenie v SSSR* (Ministry of Education, RSFSR, 1955); M. M. Deineko, *Sorok Let Narodnogo Obrazovaniia v SSSR* (Ministry of Education, RSFSR, 1957); I. A. Kairov and others, *Narodnoe obrazovanie v SSSR* (Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR, 1957). See also translations of current Soviet educational articles in the periodical *Soviet Education* (New York: International Arts and Science Press, 1958-1963).
15. Volpicelli, *Storia della Scuola Sovietica* (Brescia: La Scuola, 1950, 325 pp.). Also available as *L'évolution de la Pédagogie Soviétique* (Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1954, 235 pp.).
16. See H. F. Clark and H. Sloan, *Classrooms in the Factory* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1959) and *Classrooms in the Stores* (Sweet Springs, Mo.: Roxbury Press, 1962).
17. DeWitt, *Soviet Professional Manpower*, pp. 255-257.
18. Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union: 1940-1950," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, no. 4 (Aug. 1950), pp. 465-479; reprinted in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, *Class Status and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1953), pp. 609-622.
19. DeWitt, *Soviet Professional Manpower*, p. 50.
20. Feldmesser, "The Persistence of Status Advantage in Soviet Russia," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, no. 1 (July 1953), pp. 19-27.
21. See Milovan Djilas, *The New Class* (New York: Praeger, 1959); D. Dallin, *The Changing World of Soviet Russia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1956), Chaps. 1-5; Hugh Seton-Watson, "The Ruling Class in Russia," *The Listener*, June 2, 1955, p. 959; E. H. Carr, "Soviet Society," *The Nation*, October 1, 1955, p. 277; "Soviet Society: From the Dacha Set Down," *Fortune*, February 1953, p. 125ff; N. Hans, et al., and J. Lauwerys, "Comparative Study of Social Origin of Students in the Universities": *The Year Book of Education*, 1950 (pp. 595-644, London: Evans Brothers, 1950); Harry Schwartz, "Classes of 'Classless' Russia," *New York Times Magazine*, March 2, 1952. See also the following among the many articles in *Problems of Communism*: Hugh Seton-Watson, "The Soviet Ruling Class," Vol. 5, no. 3 (May-June 1956), pp. 10-15; "Classlessness in Soviet Russia," articles by Robert A. Feldmesser and Severyn Bialer, Vol. 9, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1960), pp. 31-50.

22. Inkeles and Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, no. 4 (Jan. 1956), pp. 329-340.
23. Bereday, "Class Tensions in Soviet Education," in Bereday and Pennar, pp. 57-88.
24. See, for example, Bereday and R. V. Rapacz, "Khrushchev's Proposals for Soviet Education," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 60, no. 3 (Dec. 1958), p. 144.
25. Eleanor S. Lowman, "Soviet Secondary Education—Designed to Achieve Future Scientific Supremacy," *Higher Education* (Dec. 1955), Vol. 12, pp. 49-52.
26. In addition to books by DeWitt, and Bereday and associates, see W. R. Medlin, *et al.*, *Soviet Education Programs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1960), 281 pp.; Albert Boiter, "The Khrushchev School Reform," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (Feb. 1959), pp. 8-19; and J. T. Wiloch, "New Models in Soviet Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (Oct. 1959), pp. 5-19. See also W. W. Kulski, *The Soviet Regime* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1955), pp. 422-485, for a description of labor reserve schools.
27. Lowman, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
28. Young, *The Rise of the Meritocracy 1870-2033. An Essay on Education and Equality* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958).
29. Havighurst, "Is Russia Really Out-Producing Us in Scientists?" *School and Society*, April 26, 1958, pp. 187-192.
30. Clark, "The Soviet Crisis," *Encounter*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (Aug. 1955), p. 48.
31. Mayer, "How to Negotiate with a Russian," *The Progressive*, Vol. 20, no. 4 (Apr. 1, 1956), p. 17.
32. Dulles, "Education in Russia May Defeat Communists," *U.S. News and World Report*, Sept. 16, 1955, p. 127. See also "Why Russian Freedom Is Inevitable," *New Leader*, June 13, 1955, pp. 5-8.
33. Berman, "The Right to Knowledge in the Soviet Union," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 54 (May 1954), p. 764.
34. Meyer, "Russia after Stalin," *Current History*, Vol. 30, no. 173 (Jan. 1956), p. 2.
35. *Istoria Estestvoznaniia v Rossii* (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1957), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 22.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
37. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (New York: Knopf, 1961), p. 24.
38. S. P. Timoshenko, *Engineering Education in Russia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 5.
39. Ashby, *Scientist in Russia*, p. 24.
40. "The Conduct of Foreign Policy in a Modern Democracy," Jonathan Peterson Lecture, New York, March 7, 1956. *British Information Services Release*, March 26, 1956, p. 14.
41. The English translation of the original poem is printed in *Encounter*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (July 1957), pp. 22-23.

Chapter Five

(pp. 93-109)

1. This chapter is a revised version of "The Social Dilemma in The Training of Teachers in Western Europe," *Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 7, no. 4 (Dec. 1956), pp. 293-303.
2. C. A. Richardson, H. Brûlé, and H. E. Snyder, *The Education of Teachers in England, France, and the U.S.A.* (New York: UNESCO, Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 12.
3. See for example, R. Lewis and A. Maude, *Professional People in England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953) and the review by this writer in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60, no. 2 (Sept. 1954), pp. 205-206.
4. See, for example, H. C. Dent, *Growth in English Education, 1946-1952* (London: Routledge, 1954), Chapter 1, for the account of the English emergency training scheme for teachers.
5. See V. García Hoz, "The Education of Teachers in Spain," *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 43, no. 8 (Apr. 1950), pp. 56-70.
6. André Ferré, *L'Instituteur* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1954), p. 78 (my translation).
7. Tibble, "The Education of Teachers," *Journal of Education* (London), Vol. 88, no. 1038 (Jan. 1956), pp. 8-11.
8. T. H. McGuffie, "The Education of Teachers," *Journal of Education* (London), Vol. 88, no. 1039 (Feb. 1956), pp. 54-56.
9. International Federation of Secondary School Teachers, "Resolutions of the Istanbul Congress, 1955," *International Bulletin No. 79* (Lindsay & Co.), October 1955, p. 49.
10. Pilgert, *The West German Educational System* (Office for the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953), p. 69.
11. E. Blochmann, "Der pädagogische Bereich in seiner sozialen und politischen Bedeutung," *Die Sammlung*, January 1956, p. 11 (my translation).
12. "The Social Position of Teachers," in R. King Hall, N. Hans, and J. A. Lauwerys, eds., *Status and Position of Teachers: Year Book of Education, 1953* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers, 1953), pp. 2-3.

Chapter Six

(pp. 110-128)

1. A revised version of "Comparative Look at English, French, and Soviet Education," *Current History*, Vol. 34, no. 205 (Sept. 1958), pp. 165-177; reprinted in *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 16, no. 4 (Jan. 1959), pp. 215-223.
2. See C. Arnold Anderson, "The Utility of Social Typologies in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1959), pp. 20-22.
3. See a description of the politics of control in American education in T. H. Eliot, "Towards an Understanding of Public School Politics," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, no. 4 (Dec. 1959), pp. 1032-1051.

4. See K. Hovet, "What Are the High Schools Teaching?" in Arno Bellack and others, *What Shall the High Schools Teach?* 1956 Yearbook, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
5. A brief list of sources in English on French education is given in Chapter 2. The following are selected documents in French on the same subject: *Mémoires et Documents Scolaires, Abrégé de l'organisation scolaire française* (Paris: Publications de l'Education Nationale, Nouvelle Série, no. 3, n.d., 31 pp.); *Mémoires et Documents Scolaires, L'École publique et ses maîtres* (Paris: Publications de l'Education Nationale, Nouvelle Série, no. 1, 1953, 96 pp.); *Fascicules de Documentation Administrative, Principes de l'Organisation de l'Education Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950); Ministère de l'Education Nationale, *La Réforme de l'Enseignement* (Paris: n.d.); A. Medici, *L'Education Nouvelle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1960, 125 pp.).
6. See William K. Medlin, "USSR," in T. L. Reller and E. L. Morphet, *Comparative Educational Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 113-132. See also an article by this writer, "Changes in Soviet School Administration," *School and Society*, Vol. 86, no. 2124 (Jan. 18, 1958), pp. 37-39. Soviet administration of education is also described by Herbert Rudman in G. Z. F. Bereday, W. W. Brickman, and G. H. Read, eds., *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), Chaps. 1 and 5. Relevant Soviet sources are A. V. Volkovski and P. M. Malyshev, *Shkolovedenie* (Ministry of Education, RSFSR, 1955) and V. M. Dmitriev, *Organizatsiia narodnogo obrazovaniia v raione* (Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, 1960).
7. See Chapter 4 for further references to Soviet curriculum.
8. See Theodore L. Reller, "Great Britain," in Reller and Morphet, *Comparative Educational Administration*, pp. 54-73. See also Asher Tropp, *The School Teachers* (New York: Macmillan, 1956); Samuel Everett, *Growing Up in English Secondary Schools* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959); A. Harry Passow, *Secondary Education for All: The English Approach* (International Education Monograph no. 3, Kappa Delta Pi, 1961).
9. Brian Chapman, *The Prefects and the Provincial France* (London: G. Allen, 1955), p. 224.
10. This emphasis on moral training shines through even in the most modest English schools, as evidenced by an account of a West Indian teacher working in a slum school. See E. R. Braithwaite, *To Sir with Love* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959, 216 pp.).
11. The relevant calculations were published in an article by this writer and Bonnie B. Stretch, "Political Education in the USA and USSR," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (June 1963), pp. 9-16.
12. See the editorial in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), p. 1.
13. See, for example, Roger Gal, "Training of the Academically Talented in France" in G. Z. F. Bereday and J. A. Lauwerys, eds., *Concepts of Excellence in Education: Year Book of Education, 1961* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers, 1961), pp. 271-276; and Robert R. Mallet, "Progressive Educational Guidance France," in Bereday and Lauwerys, eds., *The Gifted Child: Year*

- Book of Education*, 1962 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers, 1962), pp. 253-258.
14. See, for example, *The Crowther Report, 15 to 18; Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education* (England: Ministry of Education, 1959), 2 vols.; A. Yates and D. A. Pidgeon, *Admission to Grammar Schools* (National Foundation for Educational Research, 1957); M. Waddington, "Problem of Educating Gifted Young Children with Special Reference to Britain," and Lord James of Rusholme, "School and Society in the Education of the Gifted: A British Viewpoint" in *Year Book of Education*, 1961, pp. 199-219, 262-270; Raymond King, "Talent in Comprehensive Schools—England" and W. D. Furneux, "Selection for English Universities" in *Year Book of Education*, 1962, pp. 192-203; 204-215.
 15. See Bereday, Brickman, and Read, p. 18.
 16. See Nicholas DeWitt, "Basic Comparative Data on Soviet and American Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (June 1958), pp. 9-11.
 17. Text extracted from George Z. F. Bereday, "American and Soviet Scientific Potential," *Social Problems*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (Jan. 1957), p. 210.
 18. Nicholas DeWitt, *Soviet Professional Manpower* (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1955), pp. 49 and 62.
 19. See George Z. F. Bereday, "Education and Values since 1917" in C. Black, ed., *Transformation of Russian Society since 1864* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 353-370.
 20. James B. Conant, *Education and Liberty* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 31.
 21. G. Z. F. Bereday and R. V. Rapacz, "Khrushchev's Proposals for Soviet Education," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 60, no. 3 (Dec. 1958), pp. 138-149.
 22. See George Z. F. Bereday and Luigi Volpicelli, eds., *Public Education in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958).
 23. Snow, *Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 27.

Chapter Seven

(pp. 131-142)

1. Extracted from G. Z. F. Bereday, "A Note on the Pitfalls in Comparative Education" in Bower Aly, ed., *American Education* (Columbia, Missouri: National University Extension Association, 1958), p. 27.
2. *New York Times*, June 11, 1961, pp. 1 and 3.
3. Weidner, *The World Role of Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), pp. 232-233.
4. The photograph referred to was published in the *New York Times*, June 4, 1961.
5. For professional training of interpreters see Eva Paneth, "Schools for Interpreters and Other Students of Living Languages" in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A.

- Lauwerys, eds., *Concepts of Excellence in Education: The Year Book of Education, 1961* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, London: Evans Brothers), pp. 471-483.
6. Khrushchev appeared before the National Press Club in Washington on September 16, 1959.
 7. Castro appeared before the United Nations General Assembly on September 25, 1960.
 8. The kitchen debate between Khrushchev and Nixon took place in Moscow on July 24, 1959 and was reported in the *New York Times* on the following day in a passage that does not convey the awareness of the foreign language situation involved: "By training and instinct, the Vice-President and Mr. Khrushchev are professional politicians more at home in the rough and tumble of domestic politics than in the international arena, with its traditions of understatement and orderly diplomatic procedure. . . . What happened was very much what would have happened if Mr. Nixon and Harry S. Truman had made a trip through a country fair—surrounded by their partisan supporters arguing about the relative merits of Republican and Democratic parties."
 9. Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler, *Fail Safe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), p. 286.
 10. Reported in *Soviet Commitment to Education: Report of the U. S. First Cultural Mission to the USSR* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1959), Bulletin no. 16.
 11. George Z. F. Bereday, William W. Brickman, and Gerald H. Read, eds., *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).
 12. The Soviet criticism by Zoya Malkova and a reply by William Brickman were published in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 69-73.
 13. The meeting was at the Lenin Pedagogical Institute in Moscow on April 18, 1961.
 14. Bereday, Brickman, and Read, p. 13.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
 17. However, not all ruffled feelings were smoothed. At an international symposium on higher education held in Moscow in September 1962, President of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences I. A. Kairov criticized the book as follows: "We cannot agree with the direction of work in comparative education in some countries. While synthesizing the various facts in the sphere of education and analyzing the motive forces of its development, the authors of works on comparative pedagogics ignore such real facts as the struggle in many countries between progressive and reactionary forces, between secular democratic and reactionary clerical views on the development of education. Writings on comparative pedagogics as a rule deal with the educational policy of the parties in power, while the views of their political opponents are glossed over. We also object to the way in which works on comparative education treat the educational policy, the system of education, and academic theory and practice in the Soviet

Union and the other socialist countries. Professors Brickman, Kandel, and other writers on comparative education, as well as articles in the magazine *School and Society* published in the United States by the Comparative Education Society, overemphasize shortcomings and difficulties in Soviet public education but ignore our undisputed accomplishments or present them in a distorted light. This applies in particular to the book *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960) compiled by Professors Brickman, Bereday, and Read, against whose biased approach a protest was lodged by a group of Soviet teachers in the press, and Brickman's article 'Incorrect Understanding of Soviet Education,' carried by the magazine *Education Forum* in November 1961." Kairov's views were similarly stated in his *Novaia programa KPSS i zadachy pedagogicheskoi nauki* (Moscow: Academy of Pedagogical Sciences RSFSR, 1963), p. 79.

18. Gideonse, "The Literature of Freedom and Liberal Education" in *Measurement and Research in Today's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1961), p. 18.
19. This subject is also touched upon by George S. Counts in the review of Bereday, Brickman, and Read, *The Changing Soviet School* in *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 335, May 1961, pp. 207-208.
20. The demonstrations in honor of Gagarin took place in Moscow on Friday, April 14, 1961.
21. Margaret Mead, *Soviet Attitudes towards Authority: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Problems of Soviet Character* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), p. 148.
22. Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), p. 324.
23. The following are some of the publications in English presenting direct Soviet documents or official Soviet points of view:
 American publications: *Current Digest of Soviet Press* (New York: Joint Committee on Slavic Studies); *Soviet Review* (New York: International Arts and Science Press); *Soviet Education* (New York: International Arts and Science Press); *Soviet Periodical Abstracts* (New York: Slavic Languages Research Institute).
 Some English publications: *SCR Bulletin* (London: Society for Cultural Relations with USSR); *Anglo-Soviet Journal* (London: Society for Cultural Relations with USSR).
 Soviet publications: *USSR Illustrated Monthly* (Washington, D.C.); *Soviet Union Illustrated Monthly* (Moscow); *New Times, A Weekly Journal* (Trud, Moscow); *Culture and Life* (Moscow: USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries).
 Several classics (by Kalinin, Krupskaya, and Makarenko), current books (for example, M. M. Deineko, *Forty Years of National Education*; K. Galkin, *The Training of Scientists in the Soviet Union*), and novels (I. Trifonov, *Students*; F. Vigdorova, *Diary of a School Teacher*) have been published by Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow.
 There is a wealth of English translated sources also from many other countries, notably Japan and France. See Chapter Twelve, notes 3 and 4, and Chapter Eleven, note 26.

Chapter Eight

(pp. 143-155)

1. The chapter includes a revised version of "A Colombian Lesson in Comparative Method," published in *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 58, no. 7 (Apr. 1957), pp. 335-363.
2. From G. Z. F. Bereday, "A Note on the Pitfalls in Comparative Education" in Bower Aly, ed., *American Education* (Lucas Brothers, 1958), Vol. 1, p. 27.
3. Franz M. Joseph, *As Others See Us* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951, 389 pp.).
4. Harold Temperley, *Research and Modern History* (London: Macmillan, 1930), p. 10.
5. John H. Furbay, *Education in Colombia* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1946), Bulletin no. 6.
6. William C. Sayres, *Formal Education in a Rural Colombian Community* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1955).
7. "Colombia" in *World Survey of Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), pp. 170-175; "Colombia, Educational Progress in 1954-55," in *International Yearbook of Education*, 1955 (Geneva: International Bureau of Education), pp. 122-124, and in previous yearbooks.
8. For example, W. Galbraith, *Colombia, a General Survey* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1953); W. O. G. (initials only), "Dictatorship in Colombia," *World Today*, no. 6, April 1950, pp. 175-183; Norman D. Humphrey, "Race, Caste and Class in Colombia," *Phylon*, no. 13, second quarter, 1952, pp. 161-166; A. P. Whitaker, *The United States and South America, The Northern Republics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948); M. Jorin, *Governments of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1953).
9. For example, publications of the Ministerio de Educación Nacional, *Memoria del Ministro de Educación Nacional* (1951 was the latest available); Departamento Nacional de Enseñanza Primaria, *Planes y Programas de la Enseñanza Primaria Rural y Urbana*, 1950; *Régimen de la Enseñanza Secundaria en Colombia*, 1952; *Itinerarios de Cultura, Escuela, el Maestro y el Campo*, 1952; Fondo Universitario Nacional, *El Bachiller Colombiano y su Porvenir Profesional*, 1956. See also T. Lynn Smith, "Observations on the Middle Classes in Colombia," in T. R. Crevenna, ed., *Materiales para el estudio de la clase media en la America Latina* (Pan American Union, 1950), Vol. VI.
10. *International Yearbook of Education*, Vol. XVII, 1955, p. 124.
11. See also Pablo M. Ozaeta, "The Radiophonic Schools of Sutatenza, Colombia," in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, eds., *Communication Media and Education: The Year Book of Education, 1960* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 557-564.

Chapter Nine

(pp. 156-167)

1. The chapter is a revised version of "Comparative Education and Ethnocentrism," *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1960), pp. 15-21; another version was published under the same title in *International Review of Education*, Vol. 7, no. 1, 1961, pp. 24-34.
2. King, "Segregation and American Society" *British Journal of Education Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (Nov. 1956), pp. 3-14.
3. George Z. F. Bereday and Luigi Volpicelli, eds., *Public Education in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958).
4. Edmund King has questioned the text of the foregoing paragraph, both in manuscript and as partially amended in the *Harvard Bulletin* version. See his "Communication," *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin*, Vol. 5, no. 2, 1960, pp. 18 and 19. The text has been further amended, in accordance with his suggestion, in the *International Review* version and in the present chapter. Dr. King also objected to the use of the term "ethnocentrism" in the article. Though the term is widely used in anthropology, his argument was supported by Dr. I. L. Kandel and Dr. S. B. Robinsohn of the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg. In deference to these judgments, the present version speaks of "cultural and personal bias" instead of "ethnocentrism."
5. *Encounter*, Vol. 7, no. 3 (Sept. 1956), p. 2.
6. G. Z. F. Bereday, "Equality, Equal Opportunity and Comprehensive Schools in England," *Educational Forum*, Vol. 22, no. 2 (Jan. 1958), pp. 133-138.
7. G. Z. F. Bereday, "Equal Opportunity: An American Viewpoint," *Journal of Education* (London), Vol. 90, no. 1063 (Feb. 1958), pp. 44-47.
8. "Comparative Approach to Social Status in English Education," in George Z. F. Bereday, ed., *Liberal Traditions in Education, Essays in Honor of Robert Ulich* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1958), pp. 121-139.
9. King, "Comprehensive Schools in England; Their Context," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (Oct. 1959), pp. 13-18.
10. King, "Comprehensive Schools in England: Their Prospects," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 3 (Feb. 1960), pp. 16-21.
11. John A. Kouwenhoven, "Waste Not, Have Not; A Clue to American Prosperity," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1959, p. 73.
12. *Thoughts on Comparative Education; Festschrift for Pedro Rosselló*, *International Review of Education*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 1959.
13. I. L. Kandel, *The New Era in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), p. 6.
14. For further details see George Z. F. Bereday and Ina Schlesinger, "Teacher Salaries in the Soviet Union," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (Feb. 1963), pp. 200-208.
15. Bereday and Volpicelli, p. 9.
16. *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, Vol. 34, no. 4 (Dec. 1958), p. 38.

Chapter Ten

(pp. 171-197)

1. The chapter incorporates parts of the article, "Some Methods of Teaching Comparative Education," published in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Feb. 1958), pp. 4-9.
2. For details see *Studies in Comparative Education, Comparative Education in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1956).
3. See Chapter 12, p. 250.
4. Dr. Eggertsen's recent article in the field is "International Education and Teacher Training," *The University of Michigan School of Education Bulletin*, Vol. 2, no. 8, pp. 113-116.
5. Recent articles by Dr. Trow include "Is Education in USSR a Model for America?" *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, Spring 1958, pp. 111-114, and "The Russians, the Scientists, and American Education," *University of Michigan School of Education Bulletin*, Vol. 29, no. 6 (Mar. 1958).
6. See Samuel Everett, *Growing Up in English Secondary Schools* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (1959), p. 187; George S. Counts, *Khrushchev and the Central Committee Speak on Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), p. 66; Helen Huus, *The Education of Children and Youth in Norway* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), p. 247.
7. See Robert E. Belding, "Teaching by Case Method in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (June 1958), pp. 31-32. For sample biographies see "René's French Schooling," *The Clearing House*, November 1959, pp. 224-226, and "I am a Japanese Textbook," *Education*, Vol. 80, no. 6 (Feb. 1960), pp. 359-363. See also Dr. Belding's *Students Speak around the World* (Iowa City, Ia.: Campus Stores, 1960).
8. See Dr. Adams' two articles in *Comparative Education Review*: "Problems of Reconstruction in Korean Education," Vol. 3, no. 3 (Feb. 1960), pp. 27-32 and "Rebirth of Moral Education in Japan," Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), pp. 61-64.
9. See Dr. Fraser's "Recent Developments in Australian Higher Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 27-34 and *Chinese Communist Education: Select Documents, Speeches, Articles, 1949-1960* (mimeographed), 149 pp.
10. See also sample articles by Gerald H. Read, "Soviet Education in a Course on Comparative Education," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Educational Research, Tokyo* (Organizing Committee, 1961), pp. 131-135 and "Soviet Education Today," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. XLII, no. 2 (Nov. 1960), pp. 49-51.
11. For a fuller account see George Z. F. Bereday, "Comparative Education at Columbia University," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), pp. 15-17. See also footnote 1, Chapter 10, and a mimeographed report on international activities at Teachers College, prepared by R. Freeman Butts.
12. See James E. Russell, *Comparative Study of Educational Systems 1899-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899, 14 pp.). See also his *German Higher Schools* (New York: Longmans, 1905, 489 pp.).

13. See Columbia University, Comparative Education Studies, George Z. F. Bereday, general ed. (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University). Current titles are: G. Z. F. Bereday, ed., *Charles Edward Merriam's The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training* (1964); W. W. Brickman, ed., *John Dewey's Impressions of Russia and the Revolutionary World, Mexico—China—Turkey, 1929*; Stewart Fraser, *Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education, 1816–1817*; Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*.
14. The proceedings were published as two symposia in *Comparative Education Review*; see Vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 18–34, for school reforms in Italy and Germany—three articles by Mrs. Ursula Kirkpatrick, Mr. Anthony Scarangelo, and Dr. David C. Scanlon; see Vol. 4, no. 3, for symposium on higher education in the USSR and China—three articles by Dr. Peter Juviler, Dr. C. T. Hu, and Dr. Karl Bigelow, pp. 149–182.
15. See Arthur W. Foshay, et al., *Educational Achievements of Thirteen-year-olds in Twelve Countries* (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute, 1962, 68 pp.).
16. André Maurois, "A Frenchman Appraises U. S. Schools," *Overseas*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1961), pp. 14–16.
17. Institute of International Education, *Report of IIE Seminar on Education in the Soviet Union*, March 1960, 78 pp.
18. See in the *IIE News Bulletin*: A. G. Apodaca, "The Institute's Special Project in Spain," Vol. 32, no. 7 (Apr. 1957), pp. 16–17 and "IIE Agricultural Training Center in Spain: A Picture Story," Vol. 3, no. 8 (Apr. 1958), pp. 8–14.
19. Referred to in "Some Current IIE Programs," *IIE News Bulletin*, Vol. 31, no. 1 (Nov. 1955), p. 37.
20. See Dr. Gideonse's article "European Education and American Self-evaluation," *Educational Record*, Vol. 39, no. 3 (July 1958), pp. 213–221.
21. See Dr. Hanna's recent articles: "Education as an Economic and Social Instrument in the Newly Developing Nations," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. XLIII, no. 8 (May 1962), pp. 354–356 and "Conventional and Unconventional Education for Newly Developed Countries," in *America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University School of Education, 1962). See also the new comparative education program described in a pamphlet, "Educational Strategists, Educational Planning for Developing Nations, A Program at Stanford University," available from the university.
22. For a description of this course see William W. Brickman, "A Course on Soviet Education," Supplement to *School and Society*, November 8, 1958, pp. 22–23.
23. The six reports, all edited by Dr. Brickman, were as follows: *The Role of Comparative Education in the Education of Teachers* (New York: New York University, mimeographed, 1954, 23 pp.); *The Teaching of Comparative Education* (New York: New York University, mimeographed, 1955), p. 58; "Comparative Education in Theory and Practice," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 30, no. 3 (Nov. 1956), pp. 116–160; *Comparative Education and Foreign Educational Service* (New York: New York University, mimeographed, 1957, 56 pp.); *Teaching about Soviet Education* (supplement to *School and Society*, November 8, 1958,

- 23 pp.) ; *Research in Comparative Education* (New York: New York University, mimeographed, 1959, 39 pp.).
24. See "The Comparison of Educational Programs: A Methodological Proposal," *The School Review* (Chicago), Vol. 70, no. 3, pp. 314-331.
 25. See the review of Dr. Ulich's book by I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 73-74.
 26. The University of Chicago Comparative Education Center, *Report of Activities 1959-1960*, p. 64. See also the editorials in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1960), p. 103 and Vol. 6, no. 2 (Oct. 1962), p. 1.
The following are sample writings by the faculty of the center: C. Arnold Anderson, "The Utility of Social Typologies in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1959), pp. 20-22 and "Methodology of Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 1-23; Philip Foster, "Comparative Methodology and Study of African Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1960), pp. 110-117 and "Ethnicity and the Schools in Ghana," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (Oct. 1962), pp. 127-135; A. Kazamias, "Some Old and New Approaches to Methodology in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1961), pp. 90-96 and "What Knowledge Is Most Worth?" *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 30, no. 4 (Fall 1960), pp. 307-330; R. J. Havighurst, "Is Russia Really Out-Producing Us in Scientists?" *School and Society*, Vol. 86, no. 2131 (Apr. 26, 1958), pp. 178-191; "Education, Social Mobility and Social Change in Four Societies: A Comparative Study," *International Review of Education*, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1958, pp. 167-185; and "Latin American and North American Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (Feb. 1961), pp. 174-182.
 27. No. 1: G. B. Kanungo, *The Language Controversy in Indian Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Comparative Education Center, 1962, 76 pp.); No. 2: L. W. Bone, *Secondary Education in the Guianas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Comparative Education Center, 1962, 70 pp.).
 28. Mr. Scarangelo is the author of *Fulbright Teacher in Japan* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1957) and editor of *Education and Our National Goals* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1962).

Chapter Eleven

(pp. 198-218)

1. See Joseph A. Lauwerys, "Comparative Education at the University of London," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (Oct. 1959), pp. 3-4 and also University of London Institute of Education, printed page entitled *Comparative Education* (n.d., but published in 1961). See also Franz Hilker "Eine europäische Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Pädagogik," *Bildung und Erziehung*, Vol. 14, Heft 7 (July 1961), pp. 425-434.
2. See also James Henderson, "Some Sources for the Study of German Education," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (Nov. 1960), pp. 48-56.

3. See also C. H. Dobinson, "English and Russian Education Contrasted," *Educational Forum*, Vol. 12, no. 4 (May 1958), pp. 401-411.
4. Dorothea Meek, *Soviet Youth* (London: Routledge, 1957).
5. Brian Simon, *Education in the New Poland* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1954).
6. Higginson, *Sadler's Studies of American Education* (The University of Leeds Institute of Education, 1955). Also Higginson, *Great Adventure: Pioneer Studies for Action in Education* (London: University of London Press, 1943).
7. T. L. Jarman, *The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany* (New York: New York University Press, 1956).
8. As examples see David Munroe, "Education of Europeans in South Africa," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1961), pp. 105-111 and Paul Nash, "Training an Elite: The Prefect Fagging System in the English Public Schools," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (Mar. 1960), pp. 14-21.
9. Olive Wykes, "The Crisis in French Education," pp. 85-103; S. J. Scott, "The Myth of Paris," pp. 104-121, *Melbourne Studies in Education, 1957-58* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1958); Olive Wykes, "The Fifth Republic and the Catholic Schools," pp. 69-82; Gwyneth M. Dow, "15-18: Australia and England," pp. 83-94, *Melbourne Studies in Education, 1959-60* (1961); Olive Wykes, "The Administration of Education in France," pp. 127-153; Stewart E. Fraser, "Recent Educational Reforms in Communist China," pp. 154-163, *Melbourne Studies in Education, 1960-61* (1962).
10. See W. F. Connell, "The Methodology of Research in Comparative Education," in W. W. Brickman, *Research in Comparative Education* (New York: New York University Press, 1959), pp. 10-15.
11. See Professor Schonell's "Comparative Education," in *Times Educational Supplement*, July 12, 1957, p. 997.
12. See articles by Brown in *School and Society*: "Social Class Structure and the World Educational Situation," Vol. 81, no. 2059 (May 14, 1955), pp. 145-149 and "Toward a European Community," Vol. 77, no. 2000 (Apr. 18, 1953), pp. 241-244.
13. See P. D. Hey, "Education in the Soviet Union," *Teoria*, no. 14, 1961, pp. 39-54. Dr. Hey's articles on education in Natal have appeared in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), and Vol. 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1961).
14. J. Chr. Coetzee, *A Comparative Survey of Higher Education in the United States of America and the Union of South Africa* (University of Potchefstroom, 1959, 30 pp.).
15. Among Dr. Robinson's publications are *National History and World History in Education*, in Hebrew with English summary (Haifa, mimeographed, 1959); "Methoden mitbürgerlicher und politischer Erziehung; ausser-europäische Erfahrungen," in *Methoden Mitbürgerlicher Erziehung* (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1961); and "Erziehungsprobleme in Israel," *Neue Sammlung*, Vol. 2, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1962), pp. 409-430.
16. See also UNESCO Educational Abstracts, Vol. XII, no. 10 (Dec. 1960) *UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg*.

17. See, among others, Dr. Hausmann's "Zur Pädagogik der Entwicklungsländer" in W. Brezinka, *Weltweite Erziehung* (Frankfurt im Breisgau: Herder, 1961), pp. 177-198; *Didaktik als Dramaturgie* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1959, 249 pp.); "Das Bildungswesen der Türkei," *Pädagogisches Lexikon* (Stuttgart: 1961), col. 1200-1204. See also Oskar Anweiler and Klaus Meyer, *Die Sowjetische Bildungspolitik seit 1917: Dokumente und Texte* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1961, 424 pp.).
18. The following are other articles. By Professor Hylla: "Recent Developments in Education in the Federal Republic of Germany," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (June 1958), pp. 12-15. By Dr. Schultze: "Eine vergleichende Untersuchung über Rechenleistungen unserer Volksschüler," *Die Deutsche Schule*, Vol. 52, no. 6 (June 1960); "Forderstufen-ähnliche Einrichtungen im Ausland," *Ibid.*, Vol. 52, no. 718 (July-Aug. 1960); and "Das Schulwesen in der Bundesrepublik, in Frankreich, England und in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, Sonderheft 4). By Dr. Edding: "Verwirklichungen des Principis der gleichen Bildungschance in Ost und West," *Sozialer Fortschritt*, Vol. 11, no. 1, 1962, 10 pp.; and with R. von Carnap, *Das relative Schulbesuch in den Ländern der Bundesrepublik 1952-1960* (Hochschule für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, 1962, mimeographed, 22 pp. plus tables). See also the school catalogue *Higher Institute for International Research in Education* (Frankfurt am Main: 1960), p. 27.
19. See also Dr. Hilker's "Comparative Education in the Documentation and Information Center in Bonn," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 3 (Feb. 1960), pp. 13-15. See also *Bildung und Erziehung*, July 1955; March 1956; October 1957; January and March 1959; and March, April, and June 1961 for Dr. Hilker's articles on comparative education.
20. See also Professor Derbolav's "Sinn und Grenzen der vergleichenden Methode in der Erziehungswissenschaft," in Hans Espe, ed., *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Berlin: Orbis, 1956), pp. 63-71.
21. See Kurt Ranke, "Das Internationale Schulbuch Institut in Braunschweig," in Espe, *ibid.*, pp. 80-82. See also Leonhard Froese, Rudolf Haas, and Oskar Anweiler, *Bildungswettbewerb zwischen West und Ost* (Freiburg im Breisgau; Herder, 1961, 126 pp.); and Leonhard Froese, "Soviet Education from a German Perspective," *Educational Forum*, Vol. XXIII, no. 2 (Jan. 1959).
22. See Chapter 1, p. 8.
23. See Maurice Debesse, "Quest-ce que l'éducation comparée," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Pédagogie*, no. 125, July 1958, pp. 43-64.
24. Also by Roger Gal, *Où en est la pédagogie* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1961, 233 pp.).
25. See, for example, "La recherche pédagogique à l'étranger," *Le Courrier de la Recherche Pédagogique*, no. 3, June 1955, pp. 65-72 and no. 4, January 1956, pp. 47-51.
26. The French Embassy in New York publishes two useful series on French education in English. They are *Education in France* (18 issues until May 1962) and *French Cultural Services: Documentation* (especially nos. 4, 5, and 7).

27. See L. Fernig, "The Global Approach to Comparative Education," in *Thoughts on Comparative Education, Festschrift for Pedro Rosselló, International Review of Education*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 1959, pp. 87-100. See also "Preliminary Paper on the Nature of the Educational Productivity Studies," UNESCO (1LR1C11) March 8, 1963 (mimeographed).
28. For further description of the UNESCO sources see Chapter 12, pp. 219ff., also *School and Society*, Vol. 82, no. 2020 (Oct. 15, 1955), pp. 114-118 for a description of the work of the clearing house.
29. For some further French research in comparative education see also the editorial in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 1-2.
30. See the following issues of the *Problemi della Pedagogia*: "La Scuola e la Pedagogia Sovietica," Vol. 2, no. 4-5, 1956; "La Scuola e la Pedagogia Americana," Vol. 3, no. 4-5, 1957; "La Scuola e la Pedagogia Inglese," Vol. 4, no. 4-5, 1958; "La Scuola e la Pedagogia Francese," Vol. 5, no. 5-6, 1959; and "La Scuola e la Pedagogia Tedesca," Vol. 6, no. 5-6, 1960.
31. See Lamberto Borghi and A. Scarangelo, "Italy's Ten Year Education Plan," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), pp. 26-30.
32. See Vernon Mallinson and Sylvain De Coster, "Church and State Education in Belgium," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), pp. 43-48.
33. See V. A. Veikshan, "The Moscow Center in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1959), pp. 4-5. Also *Soviet Commitment to Education* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1959), pp. 101-102.
34. Bogdan Nawrockiński, *O Szkolnictwie, Francuskim* (On French Education) (Warsaw: State Science Publisher, 1961). See also J. Tadeusz Wiloch, "New Models in Soviet Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (Oct. 1959), pp. 5-12 and *Radziecki System Oświatowo-Wychowawczy* (Soviet Educational System) (Warsaw: State Science Publisher, 1962).
35. *Educação e Desenvolvimento no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas Em Ciências Sociais, 1960), p. 298. See also J. Roberto Moreira, "Some Social Aspects of Brazilian Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1962), pp. 93-96.
36. See also Juan Mantovani, "Freedom in the Argentine Universities before and after the Peron Regime," in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwers, eds., *Higher Education: Year Book of Education, 1959* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 416-432.
37. See also Julio Larrea, "The Education of the Gifted and the Promotion of a New World: Latin America," in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwers, eds., *The Gifted Child: Year Book of Education, 1962* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 512-527.
38. See T. Kobayashi, "The Present Situation of the Study of Comparative Education," in *Present Status of Educational Research in Japan*, supplement to the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Educational Research* (The Organizing Committee, 1961), pp. 7-17. See also M. Hiratsuka, "The First Announcement of the Institute" and "The Second Announcement of the Institute," in the

Bulletin of the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture, English edition, no. 1, March 1957, pp. 103-113.

39. Masunori Hiratsuka and Bunkichi Iwahashi, "Political Propaganda and Commercialism in Mass Communication in Japan," in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, eds., *Communication Media and the School: The Year Book of Education, 1960* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 168-171.
40. See, for example, Yoshitomo Ushijima, "The Intelligence Test in Japan," in Bereday and Lauwerys, eds., *The Gifted Child: The Year Book of Education, 1962*, pp. 315-320.
41. See, for example, Bunkichi Iwahashi, "Problems of Educating the Gifted in the Primary and Secondary Schools in Japan," in Bereday and Lauwerys, eds., *Concepts of Excellence in Education: The Year Book of Education, 1961* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 284-290.
42. See the following by Tetsuya Kobayashi: "Comparative Education in the U.S.A., Great Britain and Germany—A Study on the Methodology of Comparative Education," *ICU Bulletin of Educational Research*, V (Tokyo: Institute of Educational Research and Service, International Christian University), December 1958, pp. 36-37; "Comparative Perspectives on Teacher Training, Illustrated by Japan and England," in Bereday and Lauwerys, eds., *The Education and Training of Teachers: The Year Book of Education, 1963* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 111-118; "A Comparative Study of Higher Education in Europe and America," (in Japanese), *Japanese Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 29, no. 1 (Mar. 1962), pp. 54-62.
43. See by Dr. Duke, "The Irony of Post-War Japanese Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (Feb. 1963), pp. 212-217.
44. See, for example, Kanji Hatano, "Mass Media and Education in Japan," in Bereday and Lauwerys, *Communication Media and Education: The Year Book of Education, 1960*, pp. 446-472.
45. See, for example, George Z. F. Bereday, "Shokoku ni okeru Kyōshi no Chii to sono Kōsatsu" (The Status of Teachers in Different Countries), *Minshu Kyoiku Kyōkai Shi* (*Bulletin of the Institute of Democratic Education*), no. 8, 1962, pp. 2-11 and Joseph A. Lauwerys, *Morals, Democracy and Education* (Tokyo: Institute for Democratic Education, 1957, 143 pp.).
46. *Sovieto Kyoiku Kagaku* (Journal of Soviet Education) "Sovieto Kyoiku Gaku e no Michi (The Way to Soviet Pedagogy), Tokyo, Meiji Toshō, no. 1, January, 1962.
47. For the list of ministry publications in English see Chapter Twelve, note 3.
48. See K. Yuasa, J. Nagaoka, T. Sato, and T. Mori, "The Objective and Progress of Our Comparative Study of Education," *Research Bulletin of the National Institute for Educational Research*, August 1959, pp. 29-36.
49. Ichi Sagara, et al., "Centralization and Decentralization of Educational Power," Part I, *Japanese Journal of Educational Research*, March 1960, Vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 47-59.
50. *Handbook of the University of Bombay*, Part II (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1955), pp. 387, 391, and 967.

51. Green's articles include "Education and Society in Ceylon," *The Educand* (University of Western Australia), Vol. 2, no. 3, Nov. 1956; "Social Education for Teachers in Ceylon," *The International Review of Education*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1956; "Some Reflections on Teacher Training," *Journal of Education* (Hong Kong University Press, 1961), pp. 18-26; "The Promotion of Physical and Mental Health with Specific References to Ceylon," in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, *Secondary School Curriculum: The Year Book of Education, 1958* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Evans Brothers), pp. 272-281; "Vocational Ambitions in Ceylon," *Journal of the National Education Society of Ceylon*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (Feb. 1955).

Chapter Twelve

(pp. 219-266)

1. An example of the British Ministry of Education reports is *Education in 1961* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, July 1962, 147 pp.).
2. For example, selected at random, New Zealand Department of Education, *Annual Report 1961*, 96 pp.; Colony and Protectorate of Kenya *Education Department Annual Summary, 1959*, 36 pp.; and so forth.
3. Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, *Education in 1959* (Tokyo: March 1961), MEJ6341 and *Education in Japan; Graphic Presentation* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1961), MEJ6340. These publications are fifth in a continuing series. Also published by the Ministry of Education are several special studies. These titles include *Demand and Supply of Graduates from Secondary Schools and Universities* (1961, 70 pp.); *Demand and Supply of University Graduates* (1958, 69 pp.); *National Surveys of Educational Expenditures* (1961, 57 pp.); *National Surveys of Scholastic Achievement* (1961, 31 pp.); *Revised Curriculum in Japan for Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools* (1960, 66 pp.); *Science Achievement in Japan; Report of the 1957 Nation-Wide Survey* (1959, 122 pp.); and *Youth Education in a Changing Society* (1961, 159 pp.).
4. Emil Hekimgil, *Educational Activities in the 1957-58 School Year in Turkey* (Ankara: Ministry of Education, 15 pp.) and Emil Hekimgil, *Educational Activities in Turkey in the 1958-59 School Year* (Geneva, 1949, 44 pp.). Reports of this type are submitted every year to the International Bureau of Education in Geneva by all member countries and form the basis of this organization's publications.
5. As samples one may quote Ministry of Education, pamphlet no. 8, *Further Education* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947, 198 pp.) and Ministry of Education, pamphlet no. 2, *A Guide to the Educational System of England and Wales* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945, 61 pp.).
6. Sample publications are *Returns from Universities and University Colleges in Receipt of Treasury Grant: Academic Year 1959-1960* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, June 1961); University Grants Committee, *University Development Report on the Years 1952-1957* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, July 1958).

7. Examples are *15 to 18: Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education-England* (Crowther Report), Vols. 1 and 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959, 519 pp.; 1960, 240 pp.); Board of Education, *Teachers and Youth Leaders* (McNair Committee) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944, 176 pp.); Board of Education, *The Public Schools and the General Educational System* (The Fleming Report) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944, 132 pp.); Ministry of Education Building Bulletin, *18 Schools in the U.S.A. A Report* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961, 360 pp.).
8. A case study of the types and uses of British pamphlets can be found in Heinrich Diehl, *The Influence of Tradition upon the Character of the Comprehensive School in England*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, August 1959, 383 pp. Now available also in German as *Die englische Schule zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1962, 156 pp.).
9. British Information Services, *Education in Britain: An Outline of the Educational System* (I.D. 606, revised) (New York, August 1960, 45 pp.); *Primary and Secondary Schools in Britain* (I.D. 1299, revised) (May 1962, 13 pp.); *Higher Technical Education in the United Kingdom Dependencies* (I.D. 1313, revised) (July 1960, 11 pp.); *University Education in the UK Dependencies* (I.D. 1317, revised) (June 1960, 12 pp.); and *Books and Documents on Education in Great Britain* (I.D. 1376, March 1961).
10. The section incorporates George Z. F. Bereday's "A Note on Textbooks in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1957), pp. 3-4. For earlier texts in comparative education see William W. Brickman, "A Historical Introduction to Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 3 (Feb. 1960), pp. 6-12.
11. I am indebted to Mrs. Ursula Kirkpatrick for bringing this volume to my attention.
12. See the review of Schneider's *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* by Robert Ulich, in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (Feb. 1962), p. 235 and by I. L. Kandel in *International Review of Education*, Vol. VIII, no. 1, 1962, pp. 115-117. See also Schneider's article "The Immanent Evolution of Education: A Neglected Aspect of Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (Feb. 1961), pp. 136-139, as well as a review of Schneider's *Europäische Erziehung* by Robert Ulich, in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (Feb. 1961), pp. 147-148.
13. This was published as "Comparative Study of Latin America," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 17-26.
14. See a review of Mallinson's book by Edmund King in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 74-76.
15. See a review of King's book by Frederic Lilge, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (Feb. 1959), pp. 30-32.
16. See a review of Kerr's book by Brian Holmes, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (June 1961), pp. 159-160.
17. See a review of Rosselló's book by Nicholas Hans, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1961), pp. 74-75.

18. The section incorporates this writer's "The Yearbook Publications in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (Oct. 1957), pp. 22-24.
19. Issues 3 to 14 are listed with full titles in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (June 1960), p. 60.
20. Scarangelo, "The Use of Motion Pictures in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (Oct. 1959), pp. 24-26. See also "Film Notes," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (June 1963), and subsequent issues.
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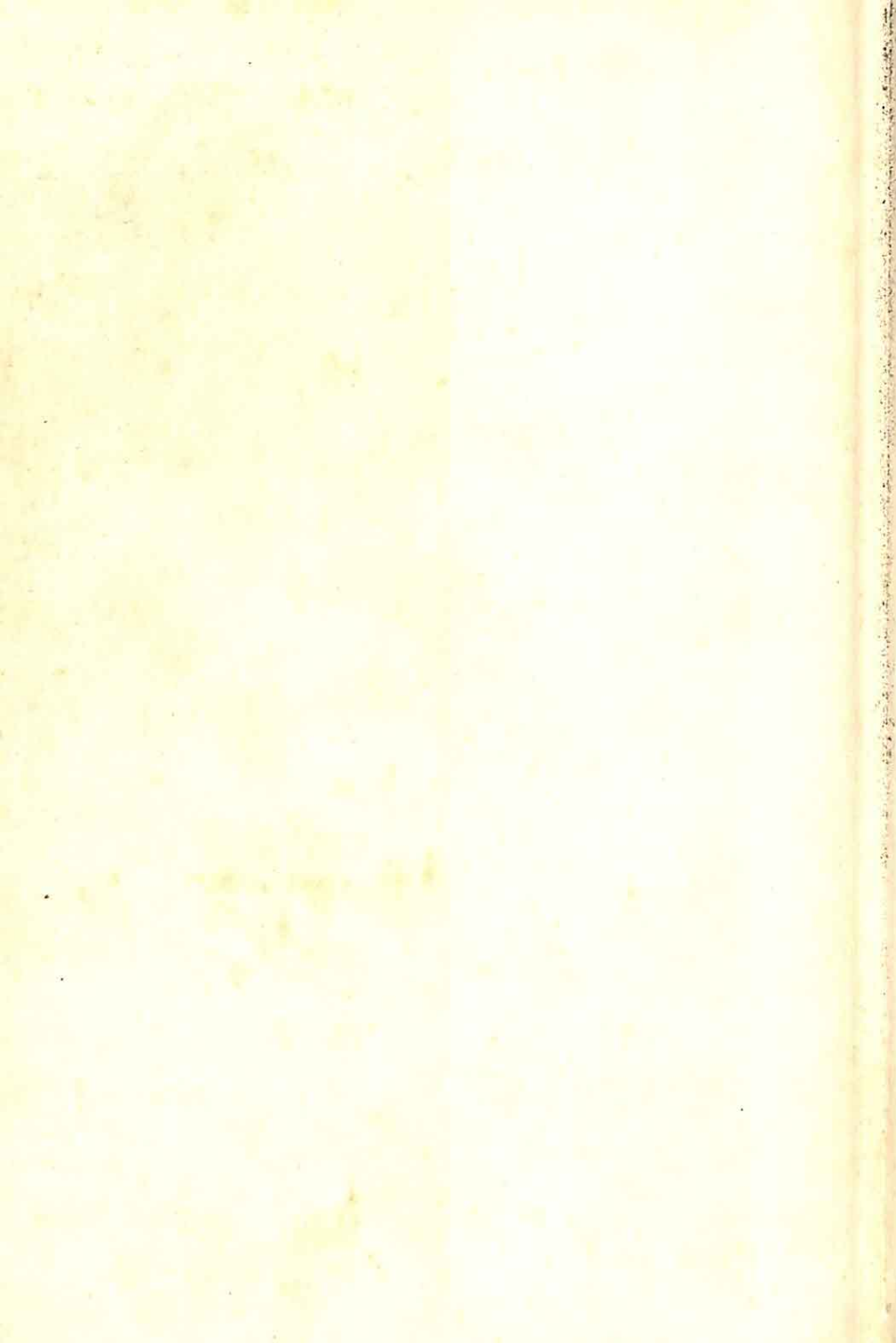
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Dr. Bereday was born in 1920 in Poland, where he joined the Polish Cavalry at the age of 18. As a member of the British Parachute Regiment, he commanded a Polish Battalion at the Battle of Arnhem, Holland, in 1944, and was decorated with the *Virtuti Militari*, Poland's highest military decoration. His education includes B.A. and M.A. degrees in history from Oxford, a B.Sc. in sociology from the University of London, and a Ph.D. in education from Harvard University. He has been an Exchange Professor at the University of Moscow and a Fulbright Professor at the University of Tokyo.

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